Foreign Broadcast Information Service 50 ANNIVERSARY 1941 - 1991

Daily Report

Near East & South Asia

FBIS-NES-91-163
Thrusday
22 August 1991

Daily Report
Near East & South Asia

FBIS-NES-91-163 22 August 1991

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Inter-Arab Affairs

GCC Discord Threatens Gulf Summit Prospects

PM2008100291 London AL-QUDS AL-'ARABI in Arabic 17-18 Aug 91 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Gulf Cooperation Council Threatened With Split"]

[Excerpt] Manama, London, Riyadh, AP, AFP, Reuter—The Gulf Cooperation Council [GCC], which comprises six oil-producing states, is facing a serious state of divisions and disputes among its members. All attempts failed to prevent them from coming into the open.

Many observers are surprised that two states such as Qatar and Bahrain, which fought against Iraq side by side in the same trench in the al-Khafji area, are on the verge of engaging in a military confrontation because of the dispute over Hawar island, less than six months after the Gulf war ended.

Gulf sources told AL-QUDS AL-'ARABI that another dispute, no less severe than the Qatari-Bahraini dispute, is currently reaching alarming proportions. This disput is between Kuwait and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and also between the United Arab Emirates and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

The sources pointed out that the Saudi authorities are not satisfied with the actions recently embarked on by the Kuwaiti Government, which damaged the Gulf's reputation worldwide—especially the operations of murder, rape, and mass expulsion, as well as Kuwait's insistence on concluding a bilateral and direct alliance with the United States and on amending the Damascus charter and the presence of U.S. forces to assume the task of protecting Kuwait. It has been noted that Saudi newspapers—both those based in the country and those based abroad—do not now mention Kuwait or report its news and have at the same time refrained from attacking Iraq and its president, contrary to the situation during the crisis. The sources said that the Qatari-Bahraini dispute threatens to drag Iran into the conflict in the region. This, because the Qatari Government, which turned to the International Court of Justice to settle its border dispute with Bahrain, has not concealed its alliance with Iran against the Saudi bias toward Bahrain.

Many observers doubt that the coming Gulf summit can be convened, in view of these continuing Gulf disputes. The meetings of the GCC states' foreign undersecretaries have been postponed, as have the finance ministers' meetings. [passage omitted]

Islamic Affairs

OIC Issues Statement on 'Zionist Occupation'

LD2208031191 Riyadh SPA in English 1217 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Text] Jeddah, Aug 21, SPA—Jeddah-based Organization of the Islamic Conference [OIC] has warned against the deteriorating situation in the occupied Arab territories.

A statement released by the OIC last night on the occasion of the Islamic solidarity day with the Palestinian people urged the Muslim nation to shoulder its historical responsibility towards the dangerous Israeli plots.

Support should be extended to the Palestinian people so as to enable them continue their blessed intifada (uprising) against the Zionist occupation and expansionist policy, said the statement.

The statement reiterated that Jerusalem is an indivisible part of occupied Palestine lands.

The statement noted that just and comprehensive peace would not be realized in the Middle East without the Israeli withdrawal from all Arab and Palestinian lands including Jerusalem.

No peace will be realized without recognition of the inalienable rights of the Palestinians including their right to self-determination and establishment of their independent state in their homeland, said the statement.

The statement reiterated the support of the OIC to the on-going efforts to being about peace in the Middle East.

Moreover, the statement deplored the Zionist endeavours to desecrate Jerusalem.

In violation to the international laws, the Zionists are trying to Judaize Jerusalem, added the statement.

Palestinian Affairs

PLO Terms Soviet Events 'Internal' Affair

JN2108163891 Sanaa Voice of Palestine in Arabic 1600 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Text] An official Palestinian information source stated the following: The PLO considers what is taking place in the Soviet Union to be an internal Soviet affair, and the PLO is monitoring the events there with interest. The Soviet people are capable of overcoming their difficulties, solving their problems, and maintaining their political stability.

The source appreciated the distinguished historical relations between the Soviet Union and the PLO. He hoped that the Soviet Union would continue to play its role in serving peace and justice in the world and the region in accordance with international legitimacy.

Commentary: Soviet Events Result of Gulf War

JN2108175091 Sanaa Voice of Palestine in Arabic 1600 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] Dear listeners: Irrespective of the force of the earthquake from Moscow, whose repercussions are still powerfully reverberating in capitals across the globe, and although it is premature to divine its results and consequences, we should not be deterred from delving a little into the effects and results of this earthquake. These results need to reformulate events in such a way that guarantees a sound course for history, especially because correct concepts have been confused with wrong ones in such an astounding manner in the minds of many of the forces, parties, and individuals that began to pin their hopes on the United States, considering Washington the Ka'bah of the world.

Undoubtedly, the earthquake coming from Moscow, according to all standards and considerations and based on the most immediate and prominent deductions that can be made, resulted from the Gulf crisis—that fierce crisis the United States rushed to wage and rallied the world's support under slogans that have since proven not to reflect principles or humanitarian values. In fact, U.S. behavior reflects the exact opposite: It has cleared itself from this or that principle in an unprecedented manner which was not even practised during the dark period of the Middle Ages.

This is because the Gulf crisis was the first crisis to expose the new role the United States gave itself, becoming the only superpower and monopolizing behavior and decisions as regards international relations, foremost of which are the United Nations and the Security Council. During the crisis, the Security Council appeared to be a pawn of all forms of U.S. pressure.

The world is no longer a jungle. Old Rome cannot be revived to rule the world from Washington. Civilized development and human relations, which have developed and progressed a great deal, make societies and states partners. Such characteristics cannot restore these partners to Roman slavery.

If these are the impressions of the small countries and peoples, what then is the impression of the big country, the Soviet Union? As it sees its role being marginalized and decreased, perhaps it even sees itself being destroyed bit by bit. The Gulf crisis, among other things, brought about the issue of direct threats to peace. Though the preludes to this threat emerged clearly in Panama and Nicaragua, its essence became crystal clear during Operation Desert Storm. This leads one to believe that these precedents, preludes, and essences will be repeated every time the United States deems necessary.

Undoubtedly, according to this concept, the Soviet Union's security is seen to be in real danger, as the Gulf war took place on its frontiers. By all standards, this was a third world war, taking into account the weapons that were used, which were designed for Star Wars, and the ammunition, aircraft, and tanks that were part of NATO and were designed for the next world war. Perhaps we have no right to talk about the Soviet Union's internal situation, which is solely a matter for the Soviet people and the Soviet leadership to discuss. Reports over the past years, however, have continuously spoken of the deteriorating economic, social, and political situation that was very precisely described in the statement issued by the State of Emergency Committee. That is not the point; however, the point is that the United States, which emerged from the Gulf war with even more arrogance and a tendency to impose hegemony, began to entrench its hegemony, to the extent that it began to impose sanctions on whoever dared to oppose its wishes and orders.

It has become absolutely clear that the United States marketed slogans to deceive the world. Under the slogan of liberating Kuwait, it launched the war to destroy Iraq. It was not satisfied with mere deception, however, but it failed the first test on implementing international legitimacy. It did not only fail to implement international legitimacy where the Israeli occupation was concerned but also colluded with the Israelis to put pressure on all the Arabs in order to force the entire region to surrender. This guarantees a full monopoly over oil for many decades to come. Undoubtedly, this U.S. deception not only harms Soviet principles and values, but also seriously harms Soviet interests. Perhaps the overwhelming results of the Gulf crisis are too many to note here. Events will prove, however, that the explosions of the crisis will continue to hit hard in many places throughout the world which cannot yield to despotic hegemony. Pending the developments in the Soviet Union, we are certain that the Soviet people, in view of their great history, heritage, and contributions to civilization, are capable of solving their problems and bringing the Soviet ship to the safety of the shore.

Palestinian Figures View 'Post-Gorbachev Era'

TA2108143391 Jerusalem AL-QUDS in Arabic 20 Aug 91 pp 1, 11

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] AL-QUDS met with some figures in the occupied territories and elicited their reaction to Gorbachev's ouster and their expectations from the post-Gorbachev era.

[Bassam al-Shak'ah] Undoubtedly the events in the Soviet Union will have a great impact on the international arena. What occurred yesterday is a real revolution against Gorbachev's internal and external policies.

What has happened now is the result of perestroyka's failure, from the viewpoint of Gorbachev and his group, to achieve any progress in addressing the Soviet Union's domestic problems; rather, it aggravated and intensified those problems. Moreover, perestroyka did not produce support for international legitimacy, rather, it led to the consolidation of U.S. hegemony. Therefore, I believe

that the events in the Soviet Union might lead to supporting a just settlement of the Palestinian problem by activating international legitimacy and by curbing U.S. hegemony. They may also lead to the renewal of superpower conflicts in the Middle East region.

[Dr. Riyad al-Maliki] The world, including the Palestinian people, were taken by surprise by what happened yesterday in the Soviet Union. A personal wish of mine and of many others for changes in the Soviet Union was realized. We hope that this powerful country will regain its natural status in support of the rights of nations and liberation movements, including the Palestinian cause. Last year's events and the Gulf war were the best proof that the entire world and the Arabs, particularly the Palestinians, were in need of a distinctive and supportive Soviet role. We hope that the change will take place without bloodshed and in the interest of all nations' causes.

[Attorney Furayh Abu-Mudayn] We as Palestinians are more interested than others in obliterating the nightmare of Gorbachev, who turned the international equation upside down and allowed the United States to become the sole manager of the new world order. This change, therefore, will give the Palestinians the chance to catch their breath and rearrange the peace process irrespective of the changes that will occur in the wake of Gorbachev's absence from the political scene. By this I mean that there will be some kind of balance that will provide the Palestinians with the opportunity of saying the word "no" to the conditions for their participation in the peace process which the United States is trying to impose on them.

[Radwan Abu-'Ayyash] We will definitely be affected by the events in the Soviet Union because the delicate international balance and the policy of detente play and important role in resolving regional disputes. We cannot now predict how the Soviet Union will finally determine its foreign policy. I hope that any change will be in the Soviet people's interest and will enhance the policy of international detente, culminating in continued efforts to convene an international conference which will achieve the Palestinian people's legitimate national rights. This unexpected change will definitely be taken into consideration by the U.S. Administration and will affect its position and activity in the region. This might hasten the convocation of the peace conference, with Palestinian conditions better than those currently raised to ensure the region's stability.

[Dr. Sa'ib 'Urayqat] It is premature to make a judgment on the outcome of the events in the Soviet Union and their impact on international policy. If the situation stabilizes, it would mean that the Soviet Union will be reverting to the past, that it is posing as a superpower in the international arena, particularly in foreign policy. If the internal situation does not stabilize, however, there is a danger that civil and communal wars will break out in the Soviet republics.

As for the Middle East region, the events in the Soviet Union contain elements of immense and multidimensional changes. It is too early, however, to make a judgment before knowing how things will turn out.

[Engineer 'Abd-al-Nabi al-Natshah] First of all, the events in the Soviet Union are an internal affair that prove the failure of Gorbachev's policy. They are also an attempt to keep the Soviet republics together and safeguard the Soviet Union, which recently had been disintegrating.

On the foreign—international—sphere, I anticipate that Soviet foreign policy will be more inflexible toward the West and will not leap into its arms, especially those of the United States.

As for the Middle East, I expect the Soviet Union to regain its previous role and not give full authorization to the United States to draw up the region's policy by itself. I also believe that its primary concern will be to take care of domestic affairs first and then deal with foreign issues.

[Attorney Jamil al-Tarifi] The events in the Soviet Union had numerous indications affirming the inevitability of Gorbachev's overthrow, especially after all aspects of Soviet domestic life became somewhat flawed.

As for international policy, I hope that there will be some kind of balance in the relationship between the Soviet Union and the United States. I believe that if the gap between them is bridged, this will positively affect international peace and stability and will, ultimately, affect a political settlement in the Middle East region, whereby we will achieve a just and lasting peace that gives the Palestinian people their national rights.

We should, however, be aware that even in the new era we will still be living in the age of international detente.

[Dr. Haydar 'Abd-al-Shafi] I say that it is too early to comment on this event.

[Samiha Khalil] Gorbachev has gone and there are no regrets for him. He supported wrong against right, aided the oppressor against the oppressed, altered all the just and elementary norms between nations, prejudiced our people's just rights, and treated nations with two standards. We pray that his successors will adopt the right path, restore the Soviet Union's prestige, remain a loyal friend of all the oppressed nations, and be an independent partner that is free, not shackled. We hope that the Soviet Union will again become a superpower, as before, so that the United States will not be the sole country to rule the world and play with its destiny. [passage omitted]

Al-Hasan Calls for 'Provisional' Government

JN2108124891 Manama WAKH in Arabic 0940 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Text] Doha, 21 Aug (WAKH)—Khalid al-Hasan, member of the Fatah Central Committee and the Palestine National Council, has called for setting up a provisional Palestinian government to be headed by a figure acceptable on both the Arab and international levels. He said the members of the government would be independents from inside and outside the occupied territories, and its mission would be confined to political negotiations and related issues, such as media affairs. The government would be accountable to the PLO Central Council according to the authorities given to it.

In an interview with Qatari paper AL-'ARAB today, al-Hasan said that this demand is not part of an effort to break the PLO's international isolation or to overcome Israeli and U.S. rejection, but rather seeks to remove the Arab isolation imposed on the PLO.

He emphasized the need for Arab solidarity and the restoration of natural brotherly relations with all Arab countries.

The Palestinian official denied that he was leading a new movement of dissension within Fatah. He said dissension was never in the interest of those who carry it out or those against whom it is directed, especially because dissension and political assassinations have proven ineffective. It has been conclusively proven that those who resort to such means are idiots and imbeciles in the political arena.

Al-Hasan said he supports a joint delegation to represent the Palestinians at the upcoming peace talks. He objected to the idea of an independent delegation, because this would delay the talks and this delay might continue for years without reaching agreement on a single point due to the differences of the Palestinian and Israeli positions.

PLO Condemns Israeli 'Crimes' Against al-Aqsa

LD2108213191 Algiers Voice of Palestine in Arabic 1702 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Text of statement issued by the PLO on the occasion of the 22d anniversary of setting fire to the blessed Mosque of al-Aqsa]

[Excerpts] In the name of God, the merciful and compassionate. [passage omitted]

Today marks the 22d anniversary of the crime which occurred when Zionist zealots set fire to the blessed al-Aqsa Mosque on the orders of the Occupation Authorities. They set fire to the blessed al-Aqsa Mosque in an attempt to demolish this blessed mosque, so the so-called third Temple of Solomon could be set up in its place

This abominable crime falls within the pattern of a series of crimes aimed at desecrating and destroying one of the holiest Muslim shrines—the third holy mosque and the place to which our great Prophet, Muhammad—God's prayers and peace upon him—performed his night journey and from which he rose to heaven.

We recall this painful anniversary and the continued series of crimes committed by the Israeli Occupation Authorities against the first of the two qiblahs and the third of the two holy mosques and its steadfast people.

In October 1990, these armed Zionist gangs, with the support and cover of the Israeli Occupation Forces, carried out an abominable massacre by opening fire in a feverish manner on the worshippers at al-Aqsa Mosque, blessed by God, as they performed their religious rites. They massacred the worshippers and the faithful who rose to defend the first of the two qiblahs and the third of the two holy mosques with their lives and bodies to prevent this abominable crime. Dozens were martyred and hundreds were wounded. [passage omitted]

Masses of our people, masses of our Arab and Islamic nation! All free and honorable sons of our nation! The crimes of the Israeli occupiers and their armed gangs have not stopped, not for one moment, against our people and against our blessed shrines, particularly against the holiest of cities, Jerusalem, the city of love, peace, and forgiveness; the city to which the Prophet Muhammad—God's prayers and peace be upon him—journeyed; and the cradle of Christ, God's prayers and peace be upon him.

Within the context of the Israeli occupation forces' plan for the consecration of Jerusalem as an eternal capital of Greater Israel, these authorities are working with all their might to escalate their terrorist and oppressive practices against the city of Jerusalem and its people. This includes, among other things, the escalation of the settlement building process around Jerusalem and in its suburbs, which seeks to encircle it with a belt of settlements, to settle the huge numbers of new Jewish immigrants there, and to force its Christian and Muslim inhabitants to leave it. These authorities are also working to expropriate the lands of the Islamic and church endowments in the holy city and its suburbs, and to lay their hands on other property inside the city, under flimsy pretexts and justifications. All this is proceeding at full speed in order to swallow up the land of Jerusalem, annex it, and Judaize it by making it the eternal capital of Israel, in implementation of the Zionist conspiracy against Jerusalem.

Today, in completion of the U.S.-backed Zionist scheme against Jerusalem, American efforts are being activated, and the tempo of political and diplomatic moves led by the United States is growing, in order to exclude Jerusalem, from any possible negotiations or settlement as a figure, a topic, and an issue of representation. This effort is being planned at the expense of the Palestinian people

and their national rights. It represents a flagrant violation of international legitimacy and of UN resolutions, and seeks to deal a blow to the PLO and accord legitimacy to the Israeli occupation of the occupied Palestinian and other Arab land, including Jerusalem.

The PLO, the sole legitimate representative of our Palestinian people, declares before God, our nation and our dutiful martyrs, who sprinkled with their pure blood the land of the homeland, that Jerusalem is the holiest of the holy and is the capital of the independent Palestinian state, God willing. On this anniversary, it reiterates its firm attitudes.

There will be no abandonment or bargaining over Jerusalem. [passage omitted]

Masses of our steadfast people, masses of our great nation! As we speak to you, we are placing before your eyes all these facts and realities, what is being planned and designed by way of resolutions and plans against our honorable Jerusalem. We issue a warning so that the Islamic and Christian holy places will not become tourist sights and monuments devoid of believers and so that each Arab and Muslim will shoulder his religious, national, and nationalist responsibility, given that Jerusalem is the sacred responsibility of every believer.

We are confident that our Islamic and Arab nation will stand firmly united by the struggle of the people of Palestine under the leadership of the PLO, its sole and legitimate representative, to rid Jerusalem of [words indistinct] filth of the Israeli occupiers by ending this despicable occupation and that our struggling Palestinian people, whom God entrusted with custody of the blessed al-Aqsa Mosque and of our sacred homes on the promise of jihad and struggle in the land of al-Isr'a wa al-Mir'raj [Palestine] for its protection and defense, that they will spare nothing of value to achieve that and will continue the blessed intifadah until the flags of Palestine are hoisted over Jerusalem's mosques and churches. In the name of God the merciful, the compassionate: Struggle in God's way.

We are confident that the masses of our Arab and Islamic nation will stand by us and will not hesitate to sacrifice their most valuable possessions, so that Jerusalem may remain Arab and Islamic, as it has been throughout history, a main part of the history, patrimony and civilization of our great nation. [passage omitted] Glory and eternity to our brave martyrs, and revolution until victory!

Al-Husayni Discusses Request for Guarantees

TA2108190291 Jerusalem AL-USBU' AL-JADID in Arabic 15 Aug 91 pp 9, 10

[Interview with Faysal al-Husayni, leader of the Palestinian team which met with U.S. Secretary of State James Baker in Jerusalem, by Khalid Abu-'Akr on 9 August in Jerusalem]

[Text] [Abu-'Akr] What is the aim of asking for a memorandum of guarantees from the United States?
[Al-Husayni] The United States has agreed with the parties that have announced their agreement to take part in the peace conference—Jordan, Syria, and Israel—to sign a memorandum of understanding since they responded with a yes to participation in the peace conference. For our part, we deemed it necessary to obtain guarantees that will enable us to take part in the conference. Hence, we asked the American side for such a memorandum. We have not said yes to participation in the conference. Our aim in obtaining such guarantees is to gauge the U.S. limits with which we can deal at the conference. This will give us an idea of the conference's seriousness and credibility. Such a memorandum will determine the Palestinian leadership's position on whether to participate.

[Abu-'Akr] Does this mean that the Palestinian response will hinge on these guarantees?
[Al-Husayni] Yes. The Palestinian response will depend on these guarantees, with the reiteration that the question of representation as well as the issue of Jerusalem's representation are red lines which cannot be given up.

[Abu-'Akr] Did you sense an American tendency to grant what you demanded?
[Al-Husayni] We sensed that they are ready to give us certain guarantees. During the next meetings we will find out what the content of guarantees and their limits.

[Abu-'Akr] It appears from the meetings currently taking place that you are engaged in some sort of negotiations with the American side. What is your comment?
[Al-Husayni] We are not conducting negotiations. We are making arrangements to launch a process of negotiations or a peace process. So far, we are still in the exploratory stage.

[Abu-'Akr] You have raised the issue of Jerusalem several times and have stressed the need to represent the city's residents at the negotiations, whereas the Israeli side vehemently objects to the presence of representatives from among the city's residents. Do you believe that Jerusalem will be the obstacle that will prevent the convocation of the conference?
[Al-Husayni] Israel itself is the impediment. It is seeking to place many obstacles, including these illegitimate and unacceptable demands. Jerusalem is not the obstacle; rather, the Israeli position is the obstacle. Jerusalem continues to be a red line which one cannot cross or retreat from. This by itself is a battle that will be waged, and this is what the PLO is now doing. It is waging this battle on all levels. The PLO cannot possibly throw away a card of such immense importance.

[Abu-'Akr] During the meeting with the American team, you suggested forming a Palestinian team to discuss the memorandum of guarantees with the Americans. Why?
[Al-Husayni] More than one point was discussed during the meeting. It is necessary to follow up these points, such as the expertise which we might need to discuss

those guarantees, for example: some procedural measures, the venue of the meetings, and the means for exchanging information and messages. All these issues were among the points discussed at the meeting.

[Abu-'Akr] What precisely took place at the meeting with the Americans?
[Al-Husayni] We discussed the content of the memorandum or letter of understanding, the Palestinian demands and the Palestinian position on them, issues of substance, and procedural issues. We also demanded an unequivocal clarification of the official U.S. position. The Americans have not yet adequately crystallized their position. They talked about Resolutions 242 and 338 and the status of Jerusalem as an occupied territory and clarified their position on these issues.

[Abu-'Akr] Where will the Palestinian team meet with the American side to prepare the memorandum of understanding?
[Al-Husayni] As for the venue, the meeting between the Palestinian and American teams about the memorandum of understanding can be held here [Jerusalem] or anywhere else. We are discussing the broad outlines of such things from the aspect of organization, arrangement, and venue. The United States will not be involved at all in the makeup of the Palestinian team, such as whether it would be necessary to have advisers and experts in specific fields included in the team—unless it is agreed that the meeting be held in Washington. Here the American involvement will lie in the possibility of obtaining entry visas for them.

[Abu-'Akr] What is the current nature of the Palestinian position following your recent visit to Europe?
[Al-Husayni] I believe that the Palestinian cause now is in a better position than it was before. There is more understanding in Europe and among U.S. public opinion for the soundness of the Palestinian position. As for the battle of representation, which Shamir has naturally chosen to wage, there is widespread movement on the Arab and Islamic levels in which great progress has been made. This battle is being waged by the PLO for the sake of the question of representation, especially with regard to Jerusalem.

In general, the Palestinian side wants to be sure that this process will lead to an end to the occupation, Israeli withdrawal, and the Palestinian people's attainment of their right to self-determination and a Palestinian state. This is the Palestinian position, which by adopting these things, is also adopting international legitimacy, including the Palestinian people's historical rights approved by the United Nations.

Commentary on Israeli Effort To 'Destroy' Talks

LD1708170791 Algiers Voice of Palestine in Arabic 1702 GMT 16 Aug 91

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] Brothers, there is a new way to define U.S. policy, which alleges that Bush is not on the side of the Arabs or the Jews, but that he is on his own side and on the side of U.S. interests. This is acceptable, particularly if we believe that he did not reach the presidential office with the aid of Jewish votes and that his electoral strength has increased in comparison to previous elections. The Jewish vote, which did affect him in previous elections, will not affect him categorically in coming elections. Hence the source of his strength and persistence in supporting the political process, which is in addition to his wish to preserve the credibility of the promises he made during the Gulf crisis that he would do his utmost to resolve the Middle East conflict, which is a true promise. Results, however, are the most important consideration.

Although Arab media have published varying texts of the U.S.-Israeli memorandum of understanding, the United States and Israel in fact have not yet reached agreement on this memorandum, and the path is still difficult, if not completely blocked, to agreeing on a memorandum acceptable to both sides. U.S. acceptance of the Israeli conditions would mean the destruction of the peace conference before it is convened, while if Israel abandons its demands, this will remain a time bomb which can destroy the peace conference at a time chosen by Israel according to its interests.

If we were to closely examine Israeli reports on everything pertaining to the memorandum of understanding, we would find great differences in views between the U.S. and Israeli sides. Shamir informed Baker by telephone of the conditional Israeli yes to the peace conference, and, during Baker's recent visit to Israel, Shamir presented him with a draft of the memorandum of understanding prepared by his advisers. Baker did not bother to look at the document, however, and said: We will not concern ourselves now with examining this document. I will send some U.S. civil servants to prepare the memorandum in cooperation with your advisers.

Shamir, who fell into brilliant U.S. lawyer Baker's trap, did not make the conditional Israeli yes with a previously drawn memorandum of understanding, and all that the two sides had agreed on was to crystallize the memorandum of understanding. The Israeli blundering become clearly apparent in statements by Israeli Foreign Minister David Levi, who said before the Knesset's Foreign and Security Committee that Baker was the one who had said yes to Israel, and that Israel had not said yes to Baker. If that were the case, why then the differences and the inability to reach a memorandum of understanding? If there was an agreement between Shamir and Baker on the memorandum of understanding, why then did Baker send his assistants to Israel to discuss and crystallize the memorandum? It seems that other memoranda of understanding would be agreed on with Arab parties, and U.S. understanding would not be confined to Israel.

The most significant differences between the U.S. and Israeli terms charged with reaching a formula for the memorandum of understanding concerned the composition of the Palestinian delegation to the peace talks. The U.S. team did not accept the Israeli view advocating that talks should be held in two stages: an initial settlement for three years followed by talks on a permanent settlement, providing that the talks did not lead to the establishment of a Palestinian state—if the Americans are still rejecting this proposal. The U.S. team also rejected the inclusion in the memorandum of understanding that Israel will not be required to accept the notion of land for peace, and that it will also not be required to accept that interpretations of all the parties of Resolution 242 should be discussed during the talks. The Israeli draft of the memorandum of understanding also stipulates that Palestinians must form a joint delegation with Jordan and that Palestinian representatives must be from the West Bank and Gaza Strip only; that is, excluding representatives from Jerusalem and the Palestinian diaspora. The draft also stipulates that the PLO must not be a partner in the political process directly or indirectly, and that Israel will not sit down with those it refuses to sit down with. If one of the Palestinians taking part in the peace conference stood up and said that he spoke on behalf of the PLO, Israel believes it has the right to withdraw from the conference. What would the U.S. stance be then? Would it continue to take part in the conference, or would it also withdraw?

As for Syria, Israel has not reached an understanding with Baker on the contents of talks with Syria, but Israel has clarified its stance of refusing to relinquish the Golan Heights. The United States, however, rejects this proposition.

In summary, Israel, which is being literally dragged to the peace conference, has exposed its true nature to the world—that it refuses peace. We have repeatedly said that Israel wants to gain time, continue its maneuvers as far as it can, and create obstacles to prevent convening of the conference. Even if it is convened, Israel will destroy it whenever it wants. We have said that, when he is cornered and becomes unable to continue his maneuvers, Shamir will resort to dissolving the Knesset and holding new elections; he will find a pretext for that. Shamir delegated the role of launching the trial balloon to the director of his office last week, when he announced that he expected the Knesset elections to be held next winter; that is, a year before they are due. Although the director of Shamir's office stressed it was his personal perception, he would not have made a statement like that unless he had been given the green light by Shamir.

Israeli intentions and purposes are clear. Although, considering the Arab absences, we do not expect the conference to achieve a miracle for us, we must not volunteer to rescue Israel from the grip that is tightening around its throat by refusing to take part—but not at any cost. The question that we are asking is: What would be the positions of Washington and Moscow—the initiators of the conference—and what would be the positions of the European countries and the international community if Israel continues to obstruct the convening of the conference or destroy the conference after it is convened? Would these countries agree to refer the issue back to the Security Council to implement its resolutions on the Arab-Israeli conflict and the Palestine issue, as happened with Iraq?

Commentary on Arab Stance Toward Peace Process

LD1508222791 Algiers Voice of Palestine in Arabic 1702 GMT 15 Aug 91

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] Brothers, as far the ongoing peace process is concerned, the Arab stance cannot be assessed by viewing it against the current circumstances. Doing this would mean historical abdication by the Arab regimes of the Arab nation's right to existence and effacing that nation from humanity's future history. This, we believe, no one is capable of doing and no Arab regime can do, no matter how far i t has gone toward the abyss of renunciation owing to despair, terror, or collusion.

We should not rely on the moment of Arab disagreement at one point, and on the moment of Arab lining up behind the misleading and pressurizing U.S. stance which aims to seek out Arab capitulation at another.

Arab disagreement is provisional and fleeting, whereas historical capitulation is eternal and applies to the future generations who, according to national and nationalist integrity, we must give the opportunity to choose and decide. Let us not sign the writ of their eternal suppression, execution, and enslavement.

What regimes cannot do because of inability and fear must not be a law and a prescription for the generations whose only sin is that those who are in power now are pervaded with inability and weakness, those who are swept off their feet by terror, and those who collapse under pressure and threat.

Is this an appropriate introduction for the subject? Yes it is. The subject does not relate to the present or to the immediate future but relates to coming times which will protect or threaten the future of entire generations.

The subject appears on two diametrically opposed tracks. The Arabs, due to collapse and the terrible U.S. pressure, endlessly make one concession after another. The Israelis, owing to exorbitant U.S. support, are increasingly committed, to the point of abominable exaggeration and extremism and are asking for more conditions, to such an extent that one is nearly led to think that the Arabs occupy a land which is not theirs and which they should evacuate so the Jews can possess it, and that peace is conditional on Greater Israel being achieved from the Nile to the Euphrates, to the point thay one may believe that Israel possesses the resolutions of the United Nations Security Council and of international legitimacy, all the resolutions which permit it to

extend not to withdraw; to the point that the Arabs can only submit to those adverse resolutions.

We do not really know how the Arabs can be asked to make all these concessions without asking the opponent for something. Nor do we know how the U.S. Administration can reiterate the same demand to the Palestinians whom it requires to annul themselves, not to heed their [word indistinct] and to accept all the other blind demands without forcing Israel to stop building settlements, without exercising any pressure to stop immigration, without satisfactorily mentioning the Golan Heights and without determining East Jerusalem as part of the territories occupied in 1967 and from which the occupation must withraw.

Peace is no slogan. It cannot be achieved with deceit and collusion. It cannot be achieved by disregarding the first side of the conflict, the Palestinians. It cannot be achieved by exploiting Arab disagreements which are only temporary or ephemeral and which will not last forever. It cannot be achieved by gambling on those who pretend to be settling accounts which are, in fact, of U.S. design. It cannot be achieved by choosing an immoral standard in a subject of uncontested legitimacy in all the resolutions issued by the United Nations and the United Nations Security Council.

So the Arabs have to analyze their stances, to revise their calculations and to be loyal to each other in order to consolidate their basic stances which rely on international legitimacy. They have to show their attachment to peace more than to anything else on the condition that it is comprehensive and just and with international reference to the United Nations and the United Nations Security Council. Without their unified and pressurizing stance, the new world order will be built on the debris of this nation. While this nation makes concessions, we do not think it unlikely that the United States will enable Israel to control water, the economy, oil, and the entire Arab region.

In order to prevent that, and so that the Arabs do not become annexed to Israel, the Palestinian people and the PLO extend a long arm to peace, using one and the same concept, one and the same standard, one and the same reference which is the United Nations and the United Nations Security Council resolutions, with guarantees from the U.S. administration itself, the Soviet Union, the other major states, and Europe, guarantees that only the Palestinians need and that are rendered inevitable by the given factors, circumstances, and developments of the situation, as well as this official and systematic Israeli terrorism that threatens the security and existence of the Palestinian people.

Algeria

FLN Official Explains Attitude to Elections

LD2208055191 Algiers ENTV Television Network in Arabic 1900 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Text] On the evening of the meeting between the government and the parties, Abdelhamid Mehri addressed a message to the minister in charge of relations with the National People's Assembly and political associations, in which he expresses the attitude of his National Liberation Front [FLN] party to the elections. The text reads:

The attitude of the FLN to the elections is based on points that must be taken into consideration in all cases. The first point is the return of normal life to the country and the guaranteeing of all the pre-requisites for political activity and public liberties. The second point is the legitimacy of existing institutions and respect for their powers until they are replaced by popular vote. The third point is viewing the 23 February 1989 Constitution as a basis for the completion of the desired democratic process.

As for the opinion of the FLN with regard to solving the issue of legislative elections, it revolves around three solutions, the FLN message adds. The first solution is to speed up the fixing of a date for the legislative elections and to take the necessary steps to hold them as soon as possible within the framework of the laws in force. The second solution is for the government to initiate draft laws in light of studies and opinions which it is collecting before the People's National Assembly. The third solution is the holding of a popular referendum to recommend the holding of the legislative elections on the basis of the laws endorsed by the People's National Assembly, or adjusting the constitution to give the president the right to legislate by decree in some cases.

Two More Parties Agree To Meet With Government

LD2108173591 Algiers Radio Algiers Network in Arabic 0600 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Text] The government will meet with the political parties for the second time tomorrow. This meeting aims to bring consensus concerning the elections. In an interview published today in ECH-CHAAB newspaper, Aboubakr Belkaid [minister of the national assembly and association] said 42 parties have submitted their suggestions which have been collated in one document prepared by the meeting's secretariat. The secretariat will distribute the document to the participants before the beginning of the proceedings. As for the parties' participation, Aboubakr Belkaid confirmed the participation of the Socialist Forces Front and the Liberation Front, who withdrew from the first meeting, while the participation of the Islamic Salvation Front remains vague, he said, and no clear information is available about its final stand.

Concerning fixing the date for the legislative elections, he categorically affirmed that they will be held before the end of the year. At the same time, he did not reject the date which some media sources have published, that is, 25 December.

It remains to point out that the meeting's proceedings will be transmitted live by the radio and TV.

Rafsanjani Note Delivered to Bendjedid

LD2108091591 Tehran IRNA in English 1552 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Algiers, Aug. 19, IRNA—Iranian Deputy Foreign Minister for Afro-Arab Affairs Hoseyn Sheykholeslam delivered Algerian President Chadli Bendjedid a letter from President 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani in Oran today.

Hojjat ol-eslam Rafsanjani's letter is said to deal with the issue of Palestine.

Later in the day, Sheykholeslam left Algeria for Tunisia at the end of his one-day visit. Last night he had conferred with Algerian Foreign Minister Lakhdar Ibrahimi.

Egypt

Mubarak Hopes for Stability in USSR

NC2108115091 Cairo MENA in Arabic 1047 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Text] Alexandria, 21 Aug (MENA)—President Muhammad Husni Mubarak has said he hopes that stability will be restored to the Soviet Union.

Speaking to reporters following his visit to Alexandria, the president said today that stability in the Soviet Union concerns us because, as a superpower, stability there influences the entire world.

The president also said: I hope the Middle East peace conference will be held on time. I hope the peace march will continue so that we can find a solution to existing problems.

Cables Gorbachev, Yeltsin

NC2108173191 Cairo MENA in Arabic 1705 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Text] Cairo, 21 Aug (MENA)—President Husni Mubarak today sent a cable to Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, congratulating him on the trust the Soviet people and their representatives showed in him by reinstating him as president of the Soviet Union.

President Mubarak sent another cable today to Boris Yeltsin, president of the Russian Federation, praising Yeltsin's courageous stand which allowed democracy to triumph.

Papers Praise Gorbachev's Domestic Reforms

NC2008141291 Cairo Arab Republic of Egypt Radio Network in Arabic 0335 GMT 20 Aug 91

[From the press review]

[Text] In an editorial entitled "Moscow's Surprise," AL-JUMHURIYAH notes that the world's capitals received with surprise, caution, and extreme interest the news from Moscow early yesterday. The paper emphasizes that the entire world respects the Soviet people's will to run their domestic affairs to suit their circumstances and achieve their goals, but by the same token the world community is interested in seeing the Soviet Union, as a superpower, enjoying stability so it can perform its international role. The Soviet Union always has stood beside the peoples' legitimate rights, backed the independence and national liberation movements, and reached out in friendship to Third World peoples in particular. The paper concludes by saying that Gorbachev put his country on a new track of openness and restructuring. He also contributed to radical changes in the world order and in international relations. His regime has produced several factors the new Kremlin leaders will have to take into account.

In an editorial entitled "The Departure of Gorbachev and Its Significance," AL-AKHBAR says Mikhail Gorbachev's removal from office as Soviet president and leader at this critical stage in his country's history and following the changes he made in the entire East Bloc, is as serious as those changes, the mere thought of which was once regarded as a unattainable dream. But the removal of this man, who was the first to knock down the columns of the temple Lenin built more than 70 years ago, will remain one of the most prominent figures in modern history.

The paper adds that Gorbachev's removal was not a complete surprise. Ever since this legendary leader began introducing reforms where he thought they were needed, many political analysts and observers have been expecting the remnants of the old guards in the Soviet Union to put up strong and obstinate resistance. The paper believes the story is not complete yet, and in fact that it has just started. It is inconceivable that the millions of Soviet people, who tasted and enjoyed the fresh dewdrops of freedom for the first time, will allow the return of chains, shackles, and rotten regimes from which they suffered for so long.

Syrian Foreign Minister To Visit 22 Aug

NC2108191291 Cairo MENA in Arabic 1840 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Text] Damascus, 21 Aug (MENA)—Syrian Foreign Minister Faruq al-Shar' will travel to Cairo tomorrow carrying a message from Syrian President Hafiz al-Asad for Egyptian President Husni Mubarak.

MENA has learned that al-Shar' will hold talks with Egyptian Foreign Minister 'Amr Musa on the latest developments in the region, the peace efforts, and bilateral topics concerning the constant coordination and consultation between Damascus and Cairo.

Mubarak, Syrian Minister Meet

NC2208083291 Cairo Arab Republic of Egypt Radio Network in Arabic 0800 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Text] President Husni Mubarak received Syrian Foreign Minister Faruq al-Shar' at the Ra's al-Tin Palace in Alexandria this morning. Foreign Minister 'Amr Musa also attended the meeting.

Musa on Exchanges With Palestinians, Baker

NC2108163591 Cairo MENA in Arabic 1526 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Text] Cairo, 21 Aug (MENA)—Foreign Minister 'Amr Musa said that his talks today with the Palestinian delegation dealt with developments in the region as well as the efforts to stimulate the peace process and maintain its momentum.

Musa added that he discussed developments in the Soviet Union with U.S. Secretary of State James Baker by telephone. He noted that in view of the fluid situation in the Soviet Union, he could not say make any definite assessment for the time being.

The foreign minister said that the current consultations Egypt is holding are aimed at promoting the peace process and following up on international developments. He added that Egypt is very interested in seeing the momentum of the peace process maintained and the peace conference's taking place at the earliest opportunity.

'Amr Musa noted that the nonaligned foreign ministers conference, due to be held early next month in the Ghanian capital, Accra, will be important in view of the current international developments.

Palestinian Delegation Arrives on Visit

NC2108112691 Cairo MENA in Arabic 0910 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Text] Cairo, 21 Aug (MENA)—PLO Executive Committee Members Mahmud 'Abbas and Yasir 'Abd-Rabbuh arrived in Cairo early this morning leading a Palestinian delegation that will pay a visit of several days to Egypt.

During the visit, the delegation will hold talks with a number of Egyptian officials on developments on the Palestinian issue, the international peace conference, and Palestinian representation in that conference.

Musa Meets Delegation

NC2108125891 Cairo MENA in Arabic 1150 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Text] Cairo, 21 Aug (MENA)—Foreign Minister 'Amr Musa met today with a Palestinian delegation made up of PLO Executive Members Yasir 'Abd-Rabbuh and Mahmud 'Abbas, alias Abu-Mazin. The meeting was attended by Palestinian Ambassador in Cairo Sa'id Kamal and Fatah representative in Cairo Zuhdi al-Qdirah.

Following the meeting, Abu-Mazin said that the two sides discussed the peace process and the ongoing efforts to convene a peace conference.

Abu-Mazin said he hopes that the current events in the Soviet Union will not affect the peace process, stressing that the PLO, which has historic relations with the Soviet Union, is closely following the grave situation there. He said that the PLO considers the current events in the Soviet Union to be an internal affair. The PLO, he added, hopes that security and stability will prevail so that the Soviet Union can continue its role in supporting world peace and the Middle East peace process.

PLO Executive Committee member Abu-Mazin added that his visit to Cairo falls within the framework of the consultations the PLO is holding with the various parties in order to arrive at a memorandum of understanding on the composition of the Palestinian delegation to the peace conference.

Abu-Mazin said that it is important that Palestinians from East Jerusalem participate in the peace negotiations, emphasizing that there can be no concessions on this issue.

Mubarak Appoints Deputies to Cairo Governor

NC1908211491 Cairo Arab Republic of Egypt Radio Network in Arabic 2000 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] President Husni Mubarak issued a republican decree appointing deputies to the Cairo governor as follows:

Article 1:

Muhammad Muhammad Yusuf, deputy to Cairo governor for the western area;

Salih Sayyid Mansur al-Shawwal, deputy to Cairo governor for the southern area;

Ibrahim Sayyid Sayyid 'Atwah, deputy to Cairo governor for the northern area;

Ahmad Muhammad Sadiq al-Jawahirji, deputy to Cairo governor for the eastern area.

Article 2: This decree goes into effect as of 20 August 1991.

[Cairo MENA in Arabic at 1955 GMT on 19 August in a report on the decree lists Salih Sayyid Mansur al-Nashawani as deputy to the Cairo governor for the southern area.]

Libya

Egyptian Minister Arrives With Mubarak Message

LD2108235691 Tripoli JANA in English 1747 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Text] Tripoli, Hannibal [August] 21st, JANA, ARAB MAGHREB UNION POOL—Mr. S.al-Sharif, minister of information in Egypt, on arriving today in great al-Jamahiriyah has said that he carries a message from President Mubarak to his brotherly leader of the revolution. This message, he continues, comes within the context of continuing consultations between them announcing that among the topics covered by this message are the positive results brought about by the opening of borders between Egypt and great al-Jamahiriyah witnessing a tangible activity in the movements of nationals and the achievement of integration between the two sisterly countries, apart from a number of matters relating to the changes in the region and the international repurcussions on the Arab region.

Al-Qadhdhafi Receives Note

LD2108235991 Tripoli JANA in English 1427 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Text] Tripoli, 21st Hannibal [August], 91, JANA, (Arab Maghreb Union Pool)—The leader of the revolution has received Mr. S. al-Sharif, the minister of information in Egypt.

Mr. al-Sharif handed the leader a message from President Mubarak coming within the context of consultations between Great al-Jamahiriyah and Egypt over international events headed by the situation in the Soviet Union and the coordination of Arab and bilateral stances.

Al-Qadhdhafi Receives Egyptian Interior Minister

LD2108221191 Tripoli JANA in English 1425 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Text] Tripoli, 21 Hannibal [August] JANA, (Arab Maghreb pool)—The leader of the revolution has received Mr. M. Musa, minister of interior in Egypt.

Al-Qadhdhafi, Sudan's al-Bashir Tour Farms

LD1808173991 Tripoli JANA in English 1549 GMT 18 Aug 91

[Excerpt] al-Bayan al-Awwal, Hanibal [August] 18, JAMAHIRYA NEWS AGENCY—The leader of the revolution accompanied by the president of the Sudanese Revolutionary Command Council General 'Umar Hasan al-Bashir yesterday toured the area of

al-Jabal al-Akhdar to see the accomplishments of the agrarian renaissance and agricultural products at al-Jabal al-Akhdar farms.

The leader and General al-Bashir met with the masses of the Basic People's Congresses in the area of Addarsia who presented him [al-Qadhdhafi] with a document of avowal and pledge of loyalty affirming their commitment to the great al-Fatih revolution and its colossal civilisational achievements.

The masses of the Basic People's Congress at Addarsia presented an Arab horse as a gift to General al-Bashir.

Then the leader and General al-Bashir toured the colossal achievements in the city of al-Marj which are being executed in the field of agriculture at this fertile area. They met with the masses of the Basic People's Congresses who presented to the leader a document of avowal and loyalty.

The masses expressed their happiness and pride in welcoming the leader, creator of the third universal theory and guide of mankind to well being, emancipation and freedom within the [word indistinct] festivities of Great Jamahirya marking the biggest miracle in the world including the arrival of the water of the great manmade river from the heart of the desert to the coastal area and the 22nd anniversary of the great al-Fatih revolution.

They expressed their thanks and gratitude to the leader for the achievements accomplished thanks to his leadership and guidance and his efforts towards unity and liberation. The masses pledged themselves to the propagation of the third universal theory and to be so that peace, good and freedom prevail. [passage omitted]

Sudanese Leader Departs

LD2208054691 Tripoli JANA in Arabic 1655 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Excerpt] Al-Bayda', 21 Aug (JANA)—Lieutenant General 'Um ar Hasan al-Bashir, chairman of the Revolution Command Council in sisterly Sudan, and Mrs al-Bashir left the Great Jamahiriyah at noon today.

They were given a grand send off, with the brother leader of the revolution and his wife heading those present to bid them farewell. [passage omitted]

Efforts To Unify ID Cards With Morocco

LD1808214691 Tripoli Libyan Television Network in Arabic 1930 GMT 18 Aug 91

[Text] JANA has learned that the during the meetings of brother Major al-Khuwaylidi al-Humaydi with King Hassan II and brother Driss Basri, minister of the interior and information in fraternal Morocco, emphasis was put on efforts to unify identity cards between the two fraternal countries to administer the movement of citizens; to standardize basic educational curricula; and to study all practical steps to implement this unionist step between the two fraternal countries during the forthcoming period through appropriate committees.

Morocco

King Hassan's Speech on Sahara Issue

LD2108092191 Rabat RTM Television Network in Arabic 2149 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Speech by King Hassan II marking the anniversary of the people's revolution and the 38th anniversary of his father's exile; in the royal palace in Skhirat on 20 August—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] Thanks be to God; prayers and peace be upon our master, God's prophet, and his companions.

Beloved people: On a day like this, 38 years ago, my father and the father of the whole Moroccan people, Mohamed V, was taken prisoner at a military base at Rabat's old airport, then to be flown to Corsica, which represented the beginning of a distant and remote exile. [passage omitted]

Dear people, we are about to recover our Sahara, definitively, in a way that no one can ignore. We will not recover our Sahara through our hearts, no; we will not recover our Sahara by the fact that we are present within it, no; we will not recover our Sahara through our modern and ancient historic evidence, no. We will recover the Sahara in a manner that will leave no scope for any one to deny the Moroccan character of the Sahara, or to dispute the Moroccan character of the Sahara.

Yes, there are those inside my dear country, and there are some within your political classes, dear people, who wonder why we called for a referendum. This is an opinion. There are those who state that the referendum has been superceded by events. This is also an opinion. There are those who say that we requested a referendum, therefore, we should pursue the referendum plan to the end.

We called for the referendum to show the whole world that our rights are not feeble, false, or circumstantial rights. No, let us say that Morocco's rights are legitimate and firm. The proof of this lies in the fact that we did not call upon you, dear people, to take part in the Green March, that magnanimous landmark that will be recorded in our history. We did call on you to participate in this epic only after the International Court of Justice issued the decision which stated that the Sahara was not a wasteland. But before the era of the Protectorate, there were pledges, ties, and commitments of allegiance between the Sahara and the Kingdom of Morocco.

Since that very day, we have been pursuing international legitimacy. We have been tring as much as possible not to stray from the path of international legitimacy so that, as we say in Morocco, we can call the other's bluff.

Afterwards, the Madrid Agreement was concluded. This agreement, stipulated the end of colonialism in the Sahara and took into consideration definitive self-determination for the Saharan people, expressed through the allegiance of the group which at the time represented the parliament, which was a constituent rather than a decisionmaker of the Sahara, as far the colonialists were concerned. [sentence as heard]

But soon afterwards the atmosphere changed. Soon circumstances turned against us, and brothers and friends turned their backs on us. There came into existence the fable, which I personally call scandal of the century, the fable of the Polisario and the so-called republic [Saharan Democratic Arab Republic—SADR]. Each one of you, dear people, can refresh his memory or recall from the newspapers of 1977 to 1981 the conspiracy and the adventure. Rather, we came up against a regrettable and painful ploy, under which took cover those who are in the know and those who are ignorant; those who are certain and those who are in doubt; those who have a clear conscience and those who have sold their consciences. All began to demand that Morocco grant this group of inhabitants in the Sahara the right to self-determination. And the fable remained, like a whirlwind growing and blowing with its wind and its storms, until I myself decided to fight the opponent with his arrow, and to fight it with his weapon, and to pursue it quickly in the same way in which it wanted to outwit us, in order to recover our Sahara.

I have taken this upon myself, dear people, with every responsibility, in view of what the constitution has entrusted to me: first, the written Constitution; second, the centuries' old traditional and historical Constitution; as well as the oath that I took before my father, Mohamed V, in 1975 [as heard], when he honored me with the task of serving this people by entrusting me with the job of Crown Prince. In view of all that, I deduced that I had full authority to go to the international community and say yes. I shall fight you with arms; I shall challenge you with your very same challenges; and I shall meet the challenge triumphantly, God willing. Thus, our march to Nairobi took place in 1981. At that time I said to my African brothers: All right, I believe in the Moroccan identity of the Sahara [words indistinct]; I believe in and am assured by the inclinations of our subjects, the inhabitants of the provinces. Therefore, let us go to this referendum, which as we see in our souls and as we want it to be, is first a referendum to confirm the Moroccan identity of the Sahara and, second, a referendum which proves in the biggest way the virtue of our demand for the recovery of our lost territories. Since that day, dear people, we have been pursuing international legitimacy. Since that day we have been waiting for this referendum—10 years, dear people, in which some were killed and some martyred, and in which there were opportunities for meeting and embracing anew, for acquainting and for oneness [tajanus].

Many opportunities were lost. Despite that, you and I have remained steadfast and seriously working. We have built a great deal, we have constructed a great deal, and we have accomplished a lot. We have educated so many, we have brought together our south and our north. We have been prepared for the international community to tell us at any time: Are you ready for the referendum? We would answer them: Yes, as of tomorrow.

The days passed from 1981 to approximately 1988, and the international community then accorded importance and concern to our problem. Contacts took place between us and the UN Secretray General Perez de Cuellar, who has been assured for many years that our will was to have a referendum and that despite everything we would accept the results of the refrendum. Since day one, I said that we would accept the results of the referendum because the Sahara cannot but be Moroccan. It cannot but be Moroccan.

Whether the referendum takes place or not—and this is my personal belief as I consulted my heart several times and consulted hundreds of thousands of the inhabitants of the sons of the Sahara when I visited them in Dakhla, Laayoune, Smara, and all the Saharan regions—I read in their features and detected in their eyes what my eye sees and what my heart feels— the Sahara is Moroccan.

In fact, time and again as I visited the Saharan provinces or the Saharans, our when loyal people from our Sahara visited us, I told myself that the referendum has been held by events. This is what I see and what the others see; this is what is being transmitted, because these days, thanks to satellites and audiovisual mass media, nothing can remain hidden anymore. I told myself: How can anybody who sees what he sees and hears what he hears doubt even for one second the Moroccan character of the Sahara?

Nevertheless, the wise man and the one who is sure of his rights is the one who is defiant. This defiance exceeds the logical level of defiance, the events and the enemies. [passage omitted]

When I say that I have the courage to voice my opinion, dear people, I am in fact but a reflection of you. Without the mirror of my people I am no more than a Moroccan like all the Moroccans. [passage omitted] I said we will go along with the United Nations until the end in this matter so that no one—not now, not the day after tomorrow, not the day after that day, not after 100 or 200 years—will doubt or cast doubt on the Moroccan identity of the Sahara. Thus started the memoranda, the exchanges of views, and the exchange of letters and memoranda, either at the level of the UN Secretary General and myself or at other levels, until we arrived at the peace plan agreed by the United Nations at the start of this year. We agree to this plan and we are adhering to this plan in its depth and philosophy. Rather, we are sticking to it because it is very evident from its articles and terms that this plan, if implemented, has all the guarantees through which the Moroccan people can realize the Moroccan identity of its Sahara.

We are saying this and we are stressing it: We are not against the UN peace plan. Had we been against it, we would have said so. Why should we say it? Because we had two choices: either to remain silent—then one day

we find ourselves facing a UN resolution that says that a referendum must take place in the Sahara. You are aware of the circumstances that controlled the fourth committee and the atmosphere that existed during the cold war, and policies of Third World countries, and so on. If we had not said that we want a referendum, in 1981, or in 1984 or 1985, it would have been imposed on us. The difference between this situation and the other is that since we requested the refrendum, we have the prerogative, alongisde the UN Secretary General, to administer the peace plan, just like two pilots who operate a single plane, one is sitting here and the other is sitting there. But had we remained obstinate, the referendum would have been imposed on us, and we would not have had the opportunity to work with the UN Secretary General and the international community on a legitimate and international process, which, as far as we are concerned, is a referendum that confirms the Moroccan identity of the Sahara, and which includes the necessary guarantees to protect our rights during the days of the referendum.

If we did not have the virtue to request the referendum, out of our belief in our right, we would have suffered the same fate that befell an Arab country we know, may God protect it from evils. In one year, the United Nations imposed international resolutions on it one after another until it found itself without the least bit of freedom to deal with its sovereignty. However, thank God, nothing of the sort happened to us. On the contrary, we continued talking with the UN Secretary General, and left the matter in the care of our government or with those who represent us in New York. We left it in their care, within a known and definite framework, to find a solution to this problem—i.e. the peace process.

Regrettably, frankly speaking, and despite all the respect and the esteem I feel for the United Nations, today we find ourselves facing a twofold situation. We are in agreement with the United Nations on the peace plan. But the plan is not merely the referendum; the plan has conditions that guarantee for the Moroccans the right to give prominance to their Moroccan-Saharan personality in defiance of anyone who wishes to challenge this. I shall not state the conditions in legal jargon. Tomorrow we will read them out to you and you will see, dear people, that until now not even one of these conditions has been implemented. For instance, consulting the tribal leaders concerning the definition committee which will define who will vote and who will not. This committee should have carried out its work 16 weeks, that is four months, before 6 September. Until now this committee has not met.

Second, lists should have been drawn up; not only drawn up, but made public. And how those who do not find themselves in the first list should cast their vote should also have been made public. This committee should have met twelve weeks, that is three months, before 6 September. Until now it has not met.

A roving subcommittee of this grand committee to identify people should have been sent to work for nine weeks, that is two months and one week. Until now nothing of the sort happened. Then we should have said that after a certain date the lists will be closed to people who want to register their names. This should have taken place two months before 6 September. Then the United Nations should have conducted studies with us so that we could agree on the criteria for the inclusion of people in the definition of who can be a Saharan, and thus have the right to vote or not. Until now we have not agreed on these criteria.

We should also have agreed on a list that included written question for which answers should have been put in writing on the same paper regarding the criteria or the gauge of the identity issue. Last, we should have reached a written agreement regarding the adminitrative aspect or the political or administrative aspect—let us mention them both—on what is called [word indistinct].

Thus, my dear people, as you can see, today is 20 August. Only 11 days remain in August. Eleven plus six give us 16 days [as heard]. The longest of these phases that should have begun 16 weeks ago—i.e. before 6 Sepember has not started yet. What is more, not even one committee or one operation out of those operations that should have been finished has even begun. The longest operation would have taken 16 weeks. Sixteen weeks give us four months, and the shortest operation would have taken two and one half months, or something like that.

There are those who allege that despite all this the implementation of the peace process should begin on 6 September. This is a stupid suggestion. I say no, because any agreement should first respect the spirit and the text. If we were in agreement on the spirit of the peace plan, I would say to the United Nations that as far as its philosophy and the means of leading us to the referendum: The declared, written, and necessary conditions have not been implemented to this very day, not a single one.

Morocco, as I have emphasized—and I would like to stress publicly that when I utter these words I am not only to talking to the Moroccan people, which is dear to me, I am also addressing the international conscience and the United Nations, its administration and members, to tell them that you should respect the dates that have been set and respect the phases—as far as Morocco is concerned, we will fully respect the peace plan that all UN member states agreed upon. They agreed on this plan conditionally, and this agreement is now suspended. [passage omitted]

I am very sorry. If there is a delay, it is not because of us; it is caused by the UN administration. I would like to tell this administration, which I respect and, above all, I respect its chairman, UN Secretary General Perez De Cuellar, that we should reexamine our calculations so that you and we can remain faithful to what has been decided by the international community. However, to come and tell us, 17 days before 6 September, that we should begin the whole peace process and within 17 days assemble, add, and cram all the phases, some of which were supposed to last for up to four months, this is not acceptable at all. I am convinced that my

ideas and evidence will find open hearts and understanding especially because, my dear people, no observer, whoever he may, can blame Morocco for procastinating or recanting or contradicting anything that could show even the slightest ill-will.

Therefore, I would like to say that we are prepared to implement this plan on condition that we begin afresh, from the start, by respecting the successive dates that have been set in accordance with the peace plan resolutions. Then, the United Nations will find out who, when put to the test, is a noble man who respects his word, and who goes back on his word.

Because my dear people, on your behalf, and consitututionally speaking, I am the one who takes up this pen and signs whether war operations will take place or not. I am the one who shoulders the responsibility to choose the whether and when this operation should begin. I am the one to whom you gave the prerogative through this pen to sacrifice dozens or hundreds or thousands of Moroccan lives.

Dear people, I want this sad affair to end now, as soon as possible. I would like neither Hassan II nor his successor to have to take up this pen once again to order the beginning of operations in which lives will be lost and blood spilled, and in which the future of the region, of brothers and neighbours, and of those with whom we must deal is tampered with. Whether we like or not, in the forthcoming years and decades this region of the Arab, African, and Islamic worlds should become a haven for solidarity, brotherhood, and coexistence.

Therefore, dear people, we would like to put an end to this issue, to end it forever. As far I am concerned, all Saharans are Moroccans and all Moroccans are Saharans. They pledged their allegiance to me and I accepted their allegiance. I shoulder the responsibility of their allegiance, and they shoulder my commitment to them.

However, I would like everybody to be aware of and accept all this. There should be no reneging on this. This is not a game. One does not play with the fate of a country and the lives of the people.

Dear people, no matter how different your views are, I would like to stress this: As you can see, I am not enthusiastic about this. I was enthusiastic when I was defending the rights of my country, our rights regarding the peace plan, and the necessary conditions that should accompany these operations so that they should be safe and conclusive. What I am telling you now, I am saying with all reassurance, joy, and, best of all, with optimism, with historical optimism, which is also hereditary because our father, Mohamed V may he rest in peace, was an optimist.

The Sahara is Moroccan, it will remain Moroccan. We will work together so that this part of Morocco, which we have recovered by sacrificing everything that was dear and precious to us, becomes a star which reflects, in this part of the world, in this African Continent, coexistence, peace, brotherhood, belief in God, and adherence to his book. God said we must support the believer. Peace be upon you.

Sudan

Al-Bashir 'To Retire Soon' for Health Reasons

PM1608143891 London SAWT AL-KUWAYT AL-DUWALI in Arabic 15 Aug 91 p 1

[Ahmad al-Qurashi report: "Convinced of Deteriorating Health, al-Bashir To Withdraw From Political Life Soon"]

[Text] London, Khartoum—Informed Sudanese sources told SAWT AL-KUWAYT that 'Umar Hasan al-Bashir, chairman of the Sudanese military council, will withdraw from political life soon and become a "retired president."

Medical sources in London have said that al-Bashir, who came to London because of his deteriorating health, did not undergo any medical tests in British hospitals.

The sources said that the [National] Islamic Front's doctors who accompanied al-Bashir on his "temporary rest trip"—namely Ma'mun Humaydah, Ahmad Sayyid Ahmad al-Sayyid, and 'Ali 'Abd-al-Rahman—were behind the medical report submitted to al-Bashir in which they informed him of the serious condition of his health, especially if he continues public work.

In London sources familiar with the situation in Sudan have said that Major General al-Zubayr Muhammad Salih, the Islamic Front's strong man in the military council, will assume the premiership, since he managed to include leading members of the Islamic Front in the council.

Meanwhile, Sudanese opposition reports revealed the arrest of five of the 131 Sudanese police officers dismissed last week after being accused of leaking information about the Islamic Front security organs' involvement in the killing of five Khartoum University students to human rights organizations.

Radio Reports al-Bashir in 'Good Health'

EA1608143091 Omdurman Sudan Broadcasting Service Network in Arabic 1930 GMT 15 Aug 91

[Excerpt] Lieutenant General 'Umar Hasan Ahmad al-Bashir, chairman of the Revolution Command Council [RCC] and the council of ministers, ended his visit to the United Kingdom [UK] for [medical] treatment. He left the UK today for the Great Jamahiriyah on a visit that will last a number of days.

His Excellency al-Sadiq Bakhyt, the RCC chairman's press adviser, said that Lt. Gen. 'Umar would hold talks with the Libyan leadership on the latest developments in the Arab integration between Sudan and the Jamahiriyah, and on matters of mutual concern. He added that his excellency the president was now enjoying good health, that he had now ended the stipulated rest and recuperation period and had resumed his activities. [passage omitted]

Foreign Minister on ICO Meeting in Khartoum

EA1608180591 Khartoum SUNA in Arabic 1420 GMT 15 Aug 91

[Text] [no dateline as received] The Islamic foreign ministers conference, recently held in Istanbul, Turkey, agreed to hold its next meeting in Khartoum. This was disclosed by Foreign Minister Mr. Ali Ahmad Sahlul to the AL-SUDAN AL-HADITH newspaper.

His excellency said that hosting the Islamic Conference Organization's [ICO] next meeting in Khartoum was a big victory for Sudanese diplomacy, adding that the Sudanese delegation to the Istanbul conference played an important role in clearing up misunderstandings of Sudanese policy by some countries and delegations.

The minister described some resolutions emerging from the conference as not living up to the [words indistinct] which the Islamic world is facing. He further said that Sudan hoped that new positions would prevail in the proceedings of the conference particularly after the Gulf (?War, crisis). However, some countries and delegations did not agree with this perspective. His Excellency Sahlul expressed the hope that a new spirit, far from the effects and reflexes of the Gulf crisis, would dominate the forthcoming conference of foreign ministers of the Islamic states.

Mr. Sahlul stated that there were contacts between Sudan and some Arab countries, particularly Jordan, aimed at absorbing Arab sensitivities caused by the Gulf crisis. His excellency said that his contacts with his Iranian (?counterpart) resulted in a joint Islamic perspective to push forward relations between the two countries [words indistinct].

His excellency the foreign minister said that his ministry was currently conducting a number of contacts aimed at securing the release of Sudanese detainees in the Gulf states and Britain, pointing out that relative success has been achieved so far. His excellency the foreign minister said that the recent detention in Britain of a Sudanese student, Muhammad Mahjub Harun, was due to reaction to the Gulf crisis. He said that the ministry was currently working on discussing this issue with the British authorities.

Darfur Authorities Seize Over 5,000 Weapons

EA2208105591 Khartoum SUNA in Arabic 1435 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] Khartoum, 20 Aug (SUNA)—A total of 5,723 weapons has been collected in Darfur State in line with establishing peace in the state. This was announced in a statement to SUNA by Staff Colonel al-Tayyib Ibrahim Muhammad Khayr, governor of Darfur State. His excellency added that 3,135 weapons had been collected in the northern provinces of the state, while 2,588 had been collected in the southern provinces. He said these were various small arms but also included Gronov and (Kotrov) artillery pieces.

Meanwhile, police in northern Darfur succeeded in killing 22 armed gangsters in an encounter with a gang which had rustled a number of camels.

Tunisia

Prime Minister Receives Soviet Ambassador 21 Aug

LD2208032191 Tunis Tunisian Republic Radio Network in Arabic 1300 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Text] Prime Minister Hamed Karoui received Boris Alekseyevich Shchiborin, ambassador of the Soviet Union in Tunis, at the Government Palace in La Casbah this morning. The ambassador stated that he delivered a message to the prime minister from the new leadership in the Soviet Union and informed him of the latest developments in that country.

Ben Ali Receives Message From Iranian President

LD2208053891 Tunis Tunisian Republic Radio Network in Arabic 2100 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Text] President Ben Ali received a written message from Iranian President Hashemi-Rafsanjani which was conveyed to him by Mr. Hoseyn Sheykholeslam, deputy foreign minister for Arab and African affairs and special envoy of the Iranian president.

The republic's official spokesman announced that the letter concerns bilateral relations, the Arab and Islamic situation, and the peace conference in the Middle East.

In this letter, the Iranian president expressed his desire to remove anything which might pollute the purity of relations between Tunisia and Iran. He also reaffirmed the status of the city of Jerusalem and the need to provide the necessary base, at the Arab and Islamic levels, to establish Palestinian rights to this city.

President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali expressed satisfaction at the common interest in normalizing and developing bilateral relations. He also recalled what has been achieved in Tunisia since the 7 November change by way of national reconciliation and the entrenchment of Arab Islamic identity and also the constants of Tunisia's foreign policy which is based on noninterference in other countries' affairs, on solving conflicts by peaceful means, on dealing with other countries on the basis of mutual respect and common interests, and on standing by the causes of right and justice.

The state president pointed out that it is from this premise that relations between the two countries have been restored and that new foundations for dealing with each other have been laid.

President Ben Ali reaffirmed Tunisia's firm support for the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and for the Middle East peace efforts which seek to find a peaceful, just, and comprehensive solution to the issues of the region.

Foreign Minister Ibrahimi Arrives on Visit

LD1608081391 Tunis Tunisian Republic Radio Network in Arabic 0600 GMT 16 Aug 91

[Text] Algerian Foreign Minister Lakhdar Ibrahimi arrived in Tunis yesterday on a three-day official visit. He is carrying a verbal message for President Zine el Abidine Ben Ali from President Chadli Bendjedid.

He stated that this visit presents an opportunity for exchanging views on bilateral relations, issues related to joint action within the framework of the Arab Maghreb Union, and the efforts of both Algeria and Tunisia to restore harmony amongst Arab brothers.

In this connection, he pointed to the current efforts aimed at reaching a just and comprehensive solution to the Middle East problem and attaining just treatment for the Palestinian people. He added that there is scope for consultations with brother Tunisians and brother Palestinians.

Benyahia Meets Ibrahimi

LD1708141691 Algiers APS in English 1114 GMT 17 Aug 91

[Text] Tunis, 17/08/91 (APS)—The Algerian Foreign Affairs Minister, Lakhdar Ibrahimi had talks on Friday in Tunis with his Tunisian counterpart, Habib Benyahia, TAP agency reported. Talks were centered on bilateral relations and on the last developments which intervened on the Arab scene and the inter-Arab relations, TAP indicated. The two sides insisted the necessity to cleanse the Arab climate notably in this period characterized by important developments on the Arab scene. Meetings of this kind must be held since approaches are undertaken for a [words indistinct] of the Middle East conflict it is necessary, the two sides estimated to carry on efforts in order to find a just settlement to the Palestinian cause.

The joint Maghreban action was also dealt with during talk; between the two sides which registered with satisfaction results achieved in this context. Cooperation in the Mediterranean was also examined notably relations between the Arab Maghreb Union member countries and the EEC member countries. It is worth recalling that Lakhdar Ibrahimi had talks with the president of the Tunisian parliament, Beji Caid Essebsi, on various topics relating to the Middle-East and the Arab Maghreb. The foreign affairs minister, Lakhdar Ibrahimi arrived on Thursday here for a three-day-official-visit, it is recalled.

Ben Ali Receives Ibrahimi

LD1708223891 Tunis Tunisian Republic Radio Network in Arabic 2100 GMT 17 Aug 91

[Text] President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali has expressed his satisfaction at the regular and continued political consultation between Tunisia and Algeria, whether it concerns bilateral relations, developing the Arab Maghreb, or regional issues.

The president of the republic also expressed his satisfaction at the level of the relations of cooperation and at the promotion of these relations, particularly in regard to the development of border areas, especially after the meeting of the greater mixed committee last March in accordance with the firm political will of the leadership of both countries and the aspirations of the two fraternal peoples.

The interest of the head of state was renewed in the progress of the relations between the two countries as he received today a verbal message from President Chadli Bendjedid, which was conveyed to him by Algerian Foreign Minister Lakhdar Ibrahimi.

According to the official spokesman of the presidency, the talks, in addition to bilateral relations and questions of building the Arab Maghreb, dealt with Arab issues—particularly the peace efforts in the Middle East and the role the Arab Maghreb Union could play in these efforts. The official spokesman highlighted the identical views and stances of the two countries vis-a-vis the issues in ques[illegible].

For his part, Mr. Lakhdar Ibrahimi stressed that the talks were very good. The views and orientation of Tunisia and Algeria are one and the same, he said. They are driven by common will to work towards firmly establishing (?cooperation) between them and to speed up the building of the Arab Maghreb.

Mr. Lakhdar Ibrahimi left Tunis at noon today.

Bahrain

Foreign Ministry Urges Meeting With Qatar

JN2208054791 Manama WAKH in Arabic 0520 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Text] Manama, 21 Aug (WAKH)—An official spokesman at the Bahraini Foreign Ministry stated the following: In its relations with fraternal Qatar, Bahrain has all along respected the brotherhood, kinship, and good neighborliness between the two countries. With a view to entrenching its belief in these principles, Bahrain was, and still is avoiding anything that may trouble fraternal relations with its sisterly neighbor, Qatar.

The state of Bahrain calls for a meeting of the three-way committee to agree on a cordial solution, including referral of the Bahraini-Qatari dispute to the International Court of Justice by a joint request from the two countries. This is in commitment to Saudi mediation and the efforts of the custodian of the two holy mosques, King Fahd Bin-'Abd-al-'Aziz of the sisterly Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, to find a brotherly and cordial solution to the dispute between Bahrain and Qatar.

In the light of this brotherly Bahraini initiative toward fraternal Qatar, Bahrain finds no reason at present to react to the 17 August Qatari statement on the Bahraini-Qatari dispute.

Iranian Oil Minister Arrives for Visit 22 Aug

JN2208094291 Manama WAKH in Arabic 0700 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Excerpt] Manama, 22 Aug (WAKH)—Iranian Oil Minister Gholam Reza Aqazadeh-Kho'i arrived in Manama this morning on a visit to Bahrain. The Iranian oil minister will deliver a message to His Highness Shaykh 'Isa Bin-Salman Al Khalifah, amir of Bahrain, from Iranian President Hashemi-Rafsanjani. [passage omitted]

Kuwait

Foreign Minister Statement on Foreign Policy

LD2008234491 London KUNA in Arabic 1618 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Excerpt] Kuwait, 20 Aug (KUNA)—Kuwait stated today that it has upheld and will continue to uphold the constant principles of its foreign policy which are based on the safeguarding of its independence and sovereignty and the independence of its decisionmaking and that it will continue to honor its Arab, Islamic, and international commitments.

This assertion was contained in a statement delivered by Shaykh Salim Sabah al-Salim al-Sabah, deputy Kuwaiti prime minister and foreign minister, during the regular weekly session of the Kuwaiti National Council this morning, which was chaired by Deputy Speaker Rashid 'Awad al-Juwaysri.

Shaykh Salim al-Sabah delivered this statement at the request of the council, which asked for a discussion of the government's foreign policy from the political and economic aspects and an exchange of views about it.

The statement added that the bitter experience which Kuwait endured affirmed the success and credibility of the principles on which the foreign policy of the State of Kuwait is based and which played an effective and influential role in securing international support and help for Kuwait.

The statement reviewed the consultations held by Kuwait during its occupation crisis on the Gulf, Arab, and international levels to formulate a joint Gulf view, place the Arab world face to face with its pan-Arab responsibilities, and prompt the international community to shoulder its responsbilities toward all threats to international peace and security.

The statement asserted the importance of continuing these foreign policy principles in light of the capacity they have endowed Kuwait with to face up to reality.

The statement said that Kuwait will continue to be an advocate of harmony and peace, in line with the principles of its Islamic faith and to respond to the human principles entrenched in the conscience of its sons.

Kuwait will also remain faithful to the needs of development in many world countries, out of its belief in its responsibilities toward the legitimate needs of humanity, for the realization of social justice, the statement added, but this faithfulness, which is best proven by the Kuwaiti Fund for Arab Economic Development, will be governed in the coming stage by controls compatible with Kuwait's supreme interests.

The statement reiterated that Kuwait will remain an oasis of security and safety for all the honourable men living in it by virtue of its Islamic faith and ethical commitment. This is despite all the false allegations and unjust fabrications that are being leveled against it and which are refuted by Kuwait's clean record toward those who live within its fold.

The statement added: We will face up to these allegations with logic and argument and we will not let those with sick minds and thinking to detract from the name of Kuwait and its clean record to achieve their exposed objectives and motives.

The statement stressed the priority that Kuwait attaches to the cause of its prisoners of war and the demarcation of its borders with Iraq within its current foreign policy, on the bases of the UN Security Council resolutions.

It added that the government will continue its efforts to retrieve all the Kuwaiti propoerty stolen by the Iraqi

regime and to force it to pay full compensation for the losses and damage it inflicted on Kuwait and its people.

The statement said that the achievement of security and stability in Kuwait is also at the forefront of Kuwait's foreign policy concerns. Kuwait is striving, with friendly countries that played an influential and effective role in its liberation, foremost among which are the United States and United Kingdom, to arrive at the suitable security formula to provide security and safety for the Kuwaiti people against the threats that the Iraqi regime persisted in uttering. The statement presented by the Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister stressed that Kuwait sets out on this course from its belief in its absolute right to cooperate with whomever it wishes in order to achieve this, and also is in harmony with the legitimate aspirations to ensure their security and stability that engross the souls of its sons. He said that among the priorities of Kuwait is the exposure of the abominable environmental crime of the Iraqi regime in Kuwait, at international gatherings, working for the condemnation of this criminal act and calling on the whole world to shoulder its responsibilities toward this disaster, damage from which is not confined to Kuwait alone. He stressed that Kuwait was and is loyal to the firm principles of its foreign policy, which is based on the preservation of its independence, sovereignty, and freedom of political decision; it will also remain loyal to its Arab, Islamic, and international commitment.

The statement praised the brilliant examples of sacrifice and devotion in the confrontation of the injustice and aggression to which Kuwait was subjected, and the mixing of Gulf blood on the pure soil of Kuwait. This confirmed to the whole world the reality of the common fate of the sons of the Gulf Cooperation Council [GCC] states. The statement went on to say that the effort continues at Gulf level to consecrate the cohesion among the GCC states and the principle of the collective security of the member countries, and that Kuwait will strive to consecrate and consolidate this cooperation and cohesion among its sisters in the council. It added that Kuwait will also work with the GCC states for the consecration of political coordination and the confrontation of the continuing Iraqi threats through the attainment of security arrangements likely to achieve security and stability for the sons of the GCC states, through the consolidation of Gulf defensive capabilities in cooperation with the brothers and friends. The statement pointed in this respect to the expected meeting of the GCC leaders in Kuwait after its liberation. It wished them success and good luck in achieving the hopes and aspirations of the sons of the GCC countries.

Referring to the Arab framework of Kuwait foreign policy the statement reiterated that Kuwait will strive to strengthen its relations with the Arab states that took an honorable stance vis-a-vis the Iraqi aggression, foremost among which are Egypt and Syria. The statement added that proceeding from this point Kuwait has, together with its sisters in the GCC, Egypt, and Syria, reached an ideal formula for joint Arab action. This was manifested in the Damascus declaration, which embodies the aims that rightly express the political starting points of the new Arab order. The statement added that Kuwait will strive to bolster and strengthen the Arab League and will work for the construction of the league of tomorrow, which will have none of the negativeness that accompanied the league of yesterday.

The statement stressed the continuation of Kuwait's commitment to its principles in defending the fateful issues of the Arab nation, particularly the question of the Palestinian people, proceeding from distinguishing between the attitude of the Palestinian leadership, which supported the aggression and occupation, and the just cause of the Palestinian people. Here the statement referred to the stances of the states that supported the wicked Iraqi aggression against Kuwait, reaffirming that Kuwait will not forget those shameful stances by those states, and that it will continue to deal with these states on the basis of those stances.

In the Islamic field, the statement of the deputy Kuwaiti prime minister and foreign minister praised the principled stand adopted by the Islamic Conference Organization [ICO] in support of Kuwait's stance and right, since the early hours of the Iraqi invasion. The ICO's stand manifested itself clearly at its Istanbul conference, which adopted a resolution plainly and openly denouncing the Iraqi regime. The statement added that the Kuwait, which will chair the fifth Islamic summit conference, will try to highlight the shining and constructive role which the ICO played vis-a-vis the Iraqi aggression against Kuwait.

Kuwait, it added, looks forward to the Dakkar ICO summit and is working to provide it with all the means of success and to bolster cooperation and coordination among the Islamic countries.

In the field of nonalignment, the staement said that Kuwait will endeavor to ensure that the question of the treacherous Iraqi aggression against the State of Kuwait is the subject of attention and concentration at the forthcoming nonaligned ministerial conference to be held in Ghana, and that the conference adopts a clear and open denunciation of this aggression.

In the international field, the statement declared that Kuwait attaches great importance to the neighboring regional countries, particularly Iran and Turkey, because of the vital role these two countries can play in bolstering security and stability in the region.

The statement added that Kuwait will continue its support and welcome for new international trends which aim at the crystallization of a new international order, discarding aggression, ensuring the peoples' rights to live in peace and security, and guaranteeing their right to control their wealth. It went on to say that Kuwait will strive to strengthen its relations with many states in order to serve Kuwait's just cause and further the common interests through more direct contacts with these states. It will also work to strengthen Kuwait's

diplomatic presence abroad. The statement added that Kuwait will also strive within the international framework and through its permanent delegation at the United Nations to express appreciation for the constructive role played by the United Nations in the liberation of Kuwait and the upholding of international legitimacy.

Members of the National Council commented on the government foreign policy statement. Some of them asked for the severance of diplomatic and trade relations with the states which supported the Iraqi regime. They stressed that the concept of letting bygones be bygones is unacceptable. Other members reaffirmed their confidence in Foreign Minister Shaykh Salim al-Sabah in laying the foundations for Kuwait's future foreign policy. They also discussed the role of Kuwaiti ambassadors during the crisis. During the session the members strongly condemned the Iraqi regime for detaining Kuwaiti prisoners of war.

In replying to criticisms and remarks by the members of the council, the deputy prime minister and foreign minister reiterated that the return of Kuwaiti prisoners and those who have been considered lost represents a foreign policy priority. He pointed out that envoys of his highness the amir of Kuwait have today begun missions in Arab countries for this purpose. He also pointed out that a diplomatic institute will be established soon to train new officials of the Foreign Ministry. [passsage omitted]

Soviet Envoy on Appreciation for Kuwait's Stance

LD2208031291 London KUNA in Arabic 1219 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Text] Kuwait, 21 Aug (KUNA)—Ernest Zverev, the Soviet ambassador to Kuwait, expressed his country's appreciation for the balanced and objective stance of the Kuwaiti leadership toward the events which are now taking place in the Soviet Union.

In a statement to KUNA, after meeting with Sulayman Majid al-Shahin, under secretary at the Foreign Ministry, this morning, Ambassador Zverev said that the rational stance of Kuwait, which was announced two days ago, will contribute to the attainment of an acceptable solution to all the problems and issues facing the Soviet Union.

He pointed out that this stance "is based on Kuwait's appreciation for the role which the Soviet Union played during the operation of the liberation of Kuwait from Iraqi occupation." Zverev also pointed out that his meeting with al-Shahin "was about the developments of the situation in the Soviet Union" and that the meeting "was characterized by mutual undestanding".

He added that he informed al-Shahin of the latest developments in the situation in the Soviet Union and that al-Shahin reiterated Kuwait's stance; that is, its view that what is taking place in the Soviet Union is a Soviet affair which concerns the Soviet peoples alone.

With regard to the situation in the Soviet Union, the ambassador stated that up to last night the situation was complex and dangerous, as confrontation continued between the two parties in conflict there. He added that the preparation of conditions suitable for reaching a solution acceptable to both parties must be given a chance.

Gorbachev's Dilemma Seen as Key To Ouster

PM2108105291 London SAWT AL-KUWAYT AL-DUWALI in Arabic 20 Aug 91 p 1

[Muhammad al-Rumayhi article: "The Writing On The Wall"]

[Text] The biggest mistake a politician can make is not to trust his friends and not to know his enemies' intentions. And it seems that Gorbachev make that mistake. Shevardnadze departed in December, followed, a week ago, by Yakovlev, his loyal adviser and architect of perestroyka.

Gorbachev relied on another group which did not necessarily believe in the radical change that he believed in for the economy, society, and politics in the Soviet Union.

Was Gorbachev's departure a surprise? Perhaps it was to some people. As for those in the know, perhaps they were shocked by the speed, the timing, and way that this giant politician was toppled. But none of them was surprised by his inevitable departure. The writing on the wall was clear with regard to Gorbachev's fate.

The writing on the wall was clear not because Gorbachev took huge, great radical decisions and changed the Soviet Union's orientation from Marxist theory to other directions. This happens in history, has happened more than once, and the change has been successful. But the writing on the wall was clear because Gorbachev stood in the middle of the road, confused, between a team pushing him forward and another trying hard to pull him back. By teams I mean the influential political tendencies in the Soviet Communist Party which casued Gorbachev's dilemma between the old and new guards.

When Gorbachev embarked on the radical set of reforms in internal, foreign, and economic policies he tried to change the course of a society and states that had followed that road for 70 years. He tried to deny certain classes privileges that they had enjoyed throughout that time. So there must have been opponents and enemies. But there were also supportive leaders who were tired of the old policies and who suffered as a result of their failure and futility. They demanded the acceleration of these reforms, because time is an important factor in development. Gorbachev did not adhere to that party wholeheartedly but was, rather, suspicious of it. As a result, there emerged the phenomenon of Yeltsin and group of liberals who left the party and who addressed the masses. As for the enemies, they adapted themselves to Gorbachev for two reasons: first, to prevent him from

joining the liberal tendency and to cast doubt on it; and, second, to place—whenever possible—obstacles in the way of the reform measures and to portray them as a failure. So there were shortages of bread and medical supplies, ethnic demonstrations were staged, and regional conflicts erupted.

The very day before the scheduled date for signing the new agreement designed to change the Soviet republics' relations forever in the direction of liberalism and new relations, the old guard struck and the politically inexperienced dreamer and idealist was toppled.... Gorbachev was toppled.

In my view, the impact of this overthrow on the Soviet Union itself and on the world is great. There are many questions, such as: Will the Soviet union backtrack on its foreign policy commitments? Will it backtrack on the radical reforms on which Gorbachev embarked? Are we facing a a new Stalinism? All these questions should be asked and an attempt made to answer them.

Such answers could become the introduction for further discussion, once all aspects of the picture have become clear. But my firm belief is that history always moves forward and that its hands cannot be turned back, even through a coup. History will record for Gorbachev the fact that he chose the difficult path—the path of openness, frankness, and restructuring, instead of of repression, blackouts, and surrender to the easy solutions. And just as the problems of democracy can only be resolved through more democracy, the problems of perestroyka, too, can only be resolved through more perestroyka.

Papers View Prospects for 'Settlement' in USSR

LD2208000291 London KUNA in Arabic 1144 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Text] Kuwait, 21 Aug (KUNA)—Two Kuwaiti papers today expressed their hopes that the events in the USSR will end in a suitable way out and that there will be a return to the democratic basis and the previous open system.

In its editorial the AL-WATAN newspaper raised two possibilities: that Gorbachev will continue to occupy his position and his overthrow will be carried out gradually, or that there is still scope for some sort of settlement dictated by the balance of power.

The paper concludes by asserting that there is still hope which may not be great but could provide a likely way out: that a settlement could be reached and that the coup will not become a point of no return.

AL-SIYASAH expressed the hope that the current conditions in Moscow will not be such that there can be no return from them. It said it fears that the Stalinist zealots might impose a regime which none of the Soviet peoples wants.

Committee Reports Iraq Releases 28 POW's

LD2108032591 London KUNA in Arabic 1743 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] Kuwait, 20 Aug (KUNA)—A total of 28 POWs, of whom 18 are Kuwaitis, returned to Kuwait today from the Iraqi detention camps, having been released by the Iraqi regime. The 18 Kuwaiti POWs were handed over to the International Red Cross representatives at 'Ar'ar, from where they were flown to Kuwait. A source at the Kuwaiti Committee for POW Affairs told KUNA that the released Kuwaiti PoWs were part of a group of 28 POWs and detainees of various nationalities who returned to Kuwait today after having been released from the Iraqi detention camps. The source said that the Kuwaiti POWs included a family of six, of whom four were females. Those who returned today included five people of no fixed nationality, two Syrians, and three non-Kuwaiti ladies.

Iraq Reportedly Completes Return of Seized Gold

NC1708090391 Paris AFP in English 0834 GMT 17 Aug 91

[Text] Kuwait, Aug 17 (AFP)—Iraq has completed the return of 42 tonnes of gold stolen in the coffers of the Central Bank here and Monday will start handing over banknotes which it also seized during the seven-month occupation of the emirate, a senior U.N. administrator said Saturday.

Dick Foran told AFP that by Thursday Iraq had restored 3,216 gold bars weighing 13 kilograms each (28.6 pounds) to U.N. and Kuwaiti representatives in the Saudi border town of 'Ar'ar.

"We're very pleased with the gold," said Foran, who was commissioned by the United Nations to supervise the return by Iraq of stolen goods and property to Kuwait.

Foran said the handing over was "extremely professional".

"There were top people there. It could not have gone better," he added.

He also expected the return of some 1.5 tonnes of commemorative gold or silver coins to be completed at the latest Sunday.

But Foran said there were some problems with the restitution by Iraq of money stolen from banks in the emirate.

Kuwait's Central Bank maintains that Iraq owes 525 million dollars while Baghdad said the amount stolen stands at just over 400 million dollars.

Nevertheless Foran expected the operation to start on Monday and be over by August 31.

Some 120,000 books stolen from the National Library and equipment seized at the official news agency KUNA will be restored to Kuwait starting September 7, Foran said.

And on September 14, Iraq will begin handing over objects stolen from the Kuwaiti National Museum.

Iraq will then be asked to return a long list of stolen goods ranging from typewriters to radars and armoured vehicles, according to Kuwaiti officials and the process could take several months.

Oman

Iranian Minister Gives Message to Sultan Qabus

JN2008170591 Muscat Radio Oman Network in Arabic 1300 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] Iranian Petroleum Minister Gholam Reza Aqazadeh-Kho'i and his delegation left the country this afternoon after a two-day visit to the sultanate. During his visit, he met with His Majesty Sultan Qabus Bin-Sa'id and conveyed a written message to him from His Excellency Iranian President 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani.

The minister also held a round of talks with Petroleum and Minerals Minister Sa'id Bin-Ahmad al-Shanfari this morning on aspects of joint cooperation in the oil field as well as relations between the two countries.

Qatar

Iranian Petroleum Minister Arrives 21 Aug

JN2108151191 Manama WAKH in Arabic 1035 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Text] Doha, 21 Aug (WAKH)—Iranian Petroleum Minister Gholam Reza Aqazadeh arrived in Doha this morning on a two-day visit to the State of Qatar.

The Iranian minister's visit is part of a tour of the region.

Hands 2 Messages to Qatari Leaders

JN2108152091 Manama WAKH in Arabic 1150 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Text] Doha, 21 Aug (WAKH)—His highness Shaykh Hamad Bin-Khalifah Al Thani, Qatari deputy amir and heir apparent, received a written message from Iranian President 'Ali Akhbar-Hasehmi Rafsanjani addressed to His Highness Shaykh Khalifah Bin-Hamad Al Thani, amir of Qatar. The message deals with the promotion of relations of cooperation and friendship, as well as the current developments in the region.

The deputy amir and heir apparent also received a message from Iranian Vice President Hasan Habibi inviting his highness to visit Iran.

The messages were conveyed by Iranian Oil Minister Gholam Reza Aqazadeh when he was received by the deputy amir and heir apparent in Doha today.

Saudi Arabia

'Source' Denies Flooding Iraq With Fake Currency

LD2008042591 Riyadh SPA in Arabic 1915 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Jeddah, 19 Aug (SPA)—An official source has today denied to Spa the report that REUTER transmitted yesterday, quoting INA, that the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia was participating with other states neighboring Iraq in flooding the Iraqi market with large quantities of Iraqi counterfeit money, in order to harm the Iraqi economy.

The source said: While mocking the content of this report, we would like to stress that the Iraqi economy with counterfeit banknotes, which the regime prints by local means to buy the support of tribes and individuals, in a desperate attempt to stay in power.

Ulema Submits Follow-Up Reform Document to King

91AE0557A London AL-QUDS AL-'ARABI in Arabic 1 Aug 91 p 4

[Report from Riyadh: "Explanatory Memorandum to King Submitted by More than 400 Ulemas, Jurists, and Judges Who Were Harassed and Prevented from Traveling. Saudi Arabia Suffers Considerably from Incompetence of its Representatives and from Widespread Favoritism. Thousands Spend Tens of Million on Frivolous Luxuries When Others Lack Their Daily Bread"]

[Text] A group of Muslim ulema in Saudi Arabia issued an explanatory memorandum as follow-up to a number of reform recommendations they had submitted to Saudi King Fahd bin 'Abd-al-'Aziz. The ulema, who expressed willingness to discuss their recommendations with government officials, prepared their document under the direction of Shaykh 'Abd-al-'Aziz 'Abdallah bin Baz, director general of the Departments of Scientific Studies, Jurisprudence, Missions, and Guidance.

The document submitted to the Saudi king was signed by more than 400 ulema, judges, jurists, and university professors who were consequently harassed and prevented from traveling. Some were also investigated and interrogated by security officials.

Following is the text of the explanatory memorandum:

At the direction of His Eminence Shaykh 'Abd-al-'Aziz 'Abdallah bin Baz, director general of the Departments of Scientific Studies, Jurisprudence, Missions, and Guidance; and in order to clarify possible ambiguities in the letter on desired reforms which was submitted to the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques; a group of signatories have prepared the following amplifications and

comments, which will hopefully address any questions the letter raises on being reviewed by their eminence members of the Council of the College of Senior Ulema.

First: General Principles

. The letter is, in fact, no more than advice and counsel to the ruler mandated by Islamic law [shari'ah]. It should be considered in that context first, then in the context of letters previously submitted individually and collectively by scholars and others to the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques and other officials.

It goes without saying that faith is nothing if not counsel, which is a scholarly duty and is mandated even more in times of crises or problems. Calling for what is right, as urged by the Holy Book, has always been one of this country's good points, while the absence of counsel against evil has been the damnation of other nations.

2. The letter, for many reasons, was not intended to go into detail. Its main objective was to counsel on the general thrust of the reform effort and it therefore focused on precepts and principles without going into examples or applications.
3. The signatories were unhappy that the contents of the letter were leaked to the public, since that was counterproductive in many ways. That was God's will, however, and "perhaps something you hate will turn out to be very beneficial" [Koranic verse]. The letter was circulated among more than 400 signatories who each kept a copy, increasing its chances of leaking out. The signatories, on the other hand, are not dismissing the possibility that the document was deliberately leaked by hypocrites and the like, who wish this country and society ill and who seek to undermine its unity by spreading rumors, sedition, and apprehension.
4. Certain members of the council may desire further amplification of some of the points in the letter, since written explanations may not be adequate for reasons of discussion. The authorities might therefore benefit from naming a number of signatories to offer whatever amplification might be needed.

Second: Amplifications

Item 1. "Create a consultative council to resolve domestic and foreign issues. Its members should have diverse specialties and be known for being straightforward and steadfast. They should have complete freedom and should be shielded from pressures that would undermine the council's primary charge."

Amplification: We believe that no explanation is needed for "consultation" [shura] as a mandate of Islamic law that is urgently needed during this critical stage in the nation's history. It was not the intention of that paragraph to point out those truisms. Rather, it was meant as a reminder that the contemplated consultative council should have three characteristics:

1. Its competence should be appropriate for its exalted position, for the station of its members, and for the reasons behind its creation. The council, in other words, should not be a mere rubber-stamp formality, as is the case in certain countries.
2. Members of the council should be candid and honest and should bring with them diverse specialties. Those charged with this great responsibility should possess the synergies of strength combined with integrity (the strength of knowledge and experience and the integrity of faith and conduct).
3. The council should enjoy true freedom and be subjected to no pressure from any quarter. No group shall lay its resolutions to waste. Determining council functions; the issues to be brought before it; and member qualifications, selection criteria, rights, and immunity—those are all details to be worked out by the relevant ulema.

Item 2. "Competent and certified Islamic law committees are to examine the text and spirit of all political, economic, administrative, and other rules and regulations and abolish those found in violation of Islamic law."

Amplification: A substantial number of rules and regulations in several of the nation's sectors were written by secular laymen, many of whom were attorneys influenced by the temporal laws they studied and who lacked the minimal understanding of Islamic law needed to arrive at optimum Islamic rulings on the issues involved. Instances abound of statutes which violate Islamic law and about which many letters and rulings were received by the media from the nation's ulema. Examples are a missive by the late Shaykh 'Abdallah bin Muhammad bin Hamid Rahmatallah titled "A Critique of Labor Rules and Regulations" and rulings by the late Shaykh Muhammad bin Ibrahim published in an anthology of his rulings compiled and verified by Shaykh Muhammad bin 'Abd-al-Rahman bin Qasim. Rulings 4042, 4046, 4047, 4045, 4049, 4052, and 4056 are especially noteworthy.

Major statutes that should be reexamined include the commercial law of 1930, the income tax law of 1950; the labor law; the social security law; the banking law of 1386 [Hijra calendar]; rules governing the domestic media and friendly countries' media, as stipulated in decree number [2-M] dated 30/2/1393 [Hijra claendar]; etc.

Some of those statutes contain blatant violations of Islamic law that are not befitting for a kingdom that is the birthplace of the call to Islam, a guiding star for Muslims, and a standard for the Islamic world.

Item 3. "State officials, as well as representatives at home and abroad, should combine sincerity, honesty, and integrity with experience and expertise. To forego any of those requirements for any reason would be a violation of trust and would seriously undermine the nation's interests and reputation."

Amplification: We believe that this item needs no explanation but it should be repeated that the kingdom's representatives are the face it presents to its citizens at

home and to other societies abroad. The kingdom has suffered greatly from the flaws of some of its representatives. Official positions of responsibility involve considerations of Islamic law that must be observed as an element of the faith and of God's worship.

Item 4. "All members of society are to enjoy justice as well as equal rights and obligations. The upper gentry should gain no favor at the expense of the meek. Any misuse of power, dereliction of duty, or infraction by any person on the rights of others is a contribution to the devastation and dissection of society as forewarned by the Prophet."

Amplification: This item focuses on a serious phenomenon that has festered in society—a phenomenon known as favoritism and nepotism. It has gotten so that certain classes of society are now able to serve the interests of those around them and bring them gains, frequently ill-gotten, for no reason except that they are close to or have leverage over the official in charge. Conversely, other classes have been denied their legitimate rights for no reason except that they have no access to or no influence over such an official. Many misuse the power vested in them either to secure ill-gained profits or unlawfully cause injury to others. Examples of the latter are too numerous to mention. The proliferation of this phenomenon to this extent is, without doubt, an evil that should be curtailed and a portent of abomination that should be heeded by those who are reasonable and sincere.

Item 5. "All officials without exception, especially those in positions of trust, shall undergo diligent oversight and shall be held accountable. The state apparatus should be purged of whomever is proven guilty of corruption or dereliction with regard to no other consideration."

This item does not seem to need explanation, but it is worth mentioning that many such instances are common knowledge on the streets. They injure the nation and society in several ways:

1. They are abominations. To overlook them and not denounce them and confront them with appropriate action would be contrary to the faith.
2. They form precedents and encourage those of low moral character to follow their example by committing violations or persisting in them. This is a disservice to the nation and to society.
3. Disregard for such practices has hurt the state's reputation internally and abroad and has given citizens many wrong impressions that can only lead to weakening the nation's structure and distressing it.

Item 6. "Insure the fair distribution of public funds to all classes and groups of society. Repeal burdensome taxes and reduce fees. Protect national resources against waste and exploitation. Observe priorities in expenditure for pressing needs. Eradicate all monopolies and illicit dominion. Lift restrictions on Islamic banking and purge public and private banking institutions of usury which is a travesty against God and His Messenger and a usurpation of bounty rights."

Amplification: Fairness is the foundation of political, social, and economic structures in Islamic society. The absence of such fairness in some aspects of life in the kingdom are vividly illustrated by the fact that in the valleys and hills of Tuhamah, in other villages, and even in some cities, there are people who are unable to clothe their families or obtain their daily bread. By contrast, hundreds and perhaps thousands of grant and endowment recipients are spending tens of millions on frivolous luxuries. Unfair resource allocation is manifested in certain urban districts which lack even minimal basic services, while others are developed in the extreme, merely because certain officials live there. Certain minor sectors of the nation are favored with huge budgets when other more significant sectors suffer through modest allotments and shortages of basic necessities. This is not right in a Muslim society in a country under Islamic rule.

Taxes and fees that overburden the citizenry are a familiar experience, the subject of daily talk, and need no further explanation. Putting import and trading fees aside, we find that the ordinary individual is overburdened with loads of taxes and fees ranging from driver's licenses and motor vehicle application fees to charges for periodic annual automobile inspections, fees for passport applications and renewals, fees for residency applications and renewals, fees for work permit applications and renewals, late fees and fines for violations, and a myriad of others that touch on all aspects of life.

A monopoly occurs when a person or an institution is granted sole rights to engage in trade without legitimate grounds. Unfortunately, such examples abound overtly and covertly in our society. One company has a monopoly over the periodic census, even when others are willing to do the job at lower cost. The importation of livestock is a monopoly and so is express mail. Airline services are also the monopoly of one company (albeit a stock company), etc.

Illicit dominion is manifested in [word illegible] and in the ownership of vast areas of land (millions of meters) under false pretenses or though unlawful grants or misuse of power. It is also manifested in exacting commissions on project contractors and in receiving preferential treatment in contract awards without legitimate grounds. Other examples are common knowledge.

A point of significant criticism of the kingdom is that it has not permitted the establishment of Islamic banks on its soil, even though they may be found in most parts of the world. Strangely, the banking control system in the kingdom renders establishing an Islamic bank a practical impossibility. It is saddening that Islamic banks exist in the Soviet Union, England, Switzerland, and South Africa but they can not be found in the home of the two holy mosques, the land of the call to Islam, and the focal point of Islam.

Item 7. "Build a strong integrated army equipped with various armaments from different sources and give thought to the development of a weapons industry. The function of the army is to safeguard the nation and what it holds sacred".

Amplification: There is no need for further amplification of this item. The country's recent experiences are perhaps the best indication of its intent.

Item 8. "Restructure all information media in accordance with the nation's sanctioned information strategy in order to serve Islam, enlighten society, and reflect its morals and culture. The media should be purged of all that would undermine those objectives, but its freedom to disseminate awareness through truthful reporting and constructive criticism should be guaranteed within legitimate bounds".

Amplification: The kingdom's media policy is considered a good theoretical example of what information should be in an Islamic country. The first article of this policy reads: "Saudi information media are bound by Islam in everything they publish, should conserve the faith of this nation's forefathers, and should refrain from anything antithetic to the laws that God ordained for His people." Article 2 stipulates that Saudi media "should endeavor to resist harmful trends, godless leanings, alien philosophies, and attempts at turning Muslims away from their faith. The media should expose those trends and spotlight the danger they pose to society and to individuals."

But students of the Saudi information media see obvious violations of that policy. How can this policy be reconciled with serials that brim with destructive ideas, incite social deviation, and even instigate outright crime? How can this policy be reconciled with serials overflowing with adorned women, unveiled faces, suggestive remarks, and sexual innuendo? How can this policy be reconciled with songs set to music and with lyrics that speak of flirtation and love when this is proscribed by all members of the College of Senior Ulema? How can this information policy be reconciled with video stores that sell thousands, and even tens of thousands, of provocative films that show women in overt sexual situations that sanction sin and even promote damaging ideas and deviant behavior?

And lastly, how can our information policy condone the fact that our newspapers and magazines carry many articles, especially on their literary pages, by writers known for intellectual perversion and even for hostility to the kingdom?

The letter merely advocates that the state abide by what it prescribed for itself and its institutions in their own interest and in the interest of society and the nation.

Item 9. "Develop a foreign policy that would safeguard the interests of the nation away from anti-Islamic law alliances, champion Muslim causes, and reform embassies into a conduit for the Muslim character of this land".

Amplification: It is not appropriate for the kingdom—when it is the focal point of Islam, the site where the call to Islam descended, and the banner-carrier of the faith—to base its foreign policy on anything but Islamic precepts and values. It is neither appropriate to condone the oppression of a Muslim country by a despot nor to bolster economic, political, and even security ties with him when we know that he is an enemy of God, His Prophet, and the faithful. This is perhaps illustrated best by our experience with the despot of Iraq. The kingdom continues to be gracious to other despots and even makes aid and loans available to some whom our ulema proclaimed infidel because they fight Islam and tyrannize the faithful.

Espousing Muslim causes is an imperative of Islamic law. Those who do not look after Muslims are not from their number. How many times did we ignore our Islamic law obligations to a Muslim cause? How many rights have Muslims, including us, forfeited to dereliction?

As for embassies, we know that official folders are full of files and reports that would explain what we meant. How many of our embassies fail to reflect our principles and values? How many of our embassies even inflict on us, as a nation and a society, more harm than do our enemies?

Item 10. "Develop the country's religious and missionary institutions and remove all impediments to the optimum realization of their objectives".

Amplification: Many sectors in the kingdom have developed and benefitted from the prosperity with which God has graced us in the past 20 years. Religious and missionary institutions have not developed, however, and did not benefit in an appropriate and desirable fashion. The kingdom, being a nation of Islam, is supposed to give priority and utmost attention to religious and missionary institutions because they are the pillars and the essence of its being. What we see in actuality, for instance, is that the directorate of the departments of scholarly research, ruling, Missions, and guidance has suffered, and still suffers, shortages of means and resources. It is accorded neither a budget nor a staff adequate for its needs and appropriate to its standing. It is saddening that most of the jobs allotted this important channel in the lives of Muslims are outside the cadres of civil service. This issue has received attention only in recent months, and then only to a minor extent that merely meets a few of its requirements. The International Association of Muslim Youths [for another example] had a budget of six million riyals when it was founded more than 15 years ago. Its budget has now shrunk to five million riyals, even with severe belt-tightening. Even more saddening is that allocations for

one soccer club—to cover equipment, training, management, and compensation—may exceed aggregate expenditure on all such institutions.

Item 11. "Standardize institutions of jurisprudence and grant them total and complete freedom. Render the authority of the courts binding to all and create an independent authority whose function would be to oversee the execution of court decisions".

Amplification: This item simply affirms previous calls by the Supreme Council of Jurisprudence and [is in line with] rulings by the senior ulema of the kingdom. The Supreme Council of Jurisprudence had previously advocated that Islamic courts be authorized for labor and commercial cases. His eminence the late Shaykh Muhammad bin Ibrahim had also issued several relevant rulings, including ruling number 4027 that all cases be referred to Islamic courts; ruling number 4038 mandating that all commercial suits be judged by Islamic courts; ruling number 4040 invalidating arbitration by chambers of commerce, even when voluntary; and ruling number 4052 on the irrelevance of decisions by non-jurisprudent entities. There are far too many more such rulings to enumerate in this cursory review.

Making the authority of the courts binding on all is a requisite mandate of Islamic law, but certain individuals and even institutions are unfortunately excepted in certain cases. How often did the courts agonize because government and private parties failed to appear before them? How often did the exalted positions of certain individuals preclude them from discharging their obligations to the courts and from the optimum fulfillment of court decisions affecting them?

Item 12. "Guarantee individual and societal rights and remove all restrictions on the will of the people and their rights in order to guarantee their dignity and humanity within the legitimate parameters."

Amplification: The best proof of the intent of this item is perhaps the experience of more than 400 ulema, judges, sermonizers, and university professors who signed the letter [to the king] and were consequently prevented from traveling for no reason other than tendering counsel to the ruler mandated by Islamic law. Some were even investigated and interrogated by security officials. Aside from that, how many sermonizers were forbidden to lecture or to preach and how many were summoned by security officials? How many writers have been prevented from writing and subjected to the vagaries of some traffic and police officers and by government authorities that hold the trust of the citizenry? How many times were they detained and delayed, not for a legitimate reason, but at the whim of policemen or junior employees who would issue rulings and verdicts when they can barely understand the fundamentals of Islam.

This a cursory [presentation] and we hope to God that it is adequate to the reason for it. Thanks be to God at all times.

United Arab Emirates

Shaykh Zayid Receives Iranian Minister, Message

JN2008194891 Manama WAKH in Arabic 1800 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] Abu Dhabi, 20 Aug (WAKH)—Emirian President His Highness Shaykh Zayid Bin-Sultan Al Nuhayyan has received a written message from Iranian President 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani dealing with bilateral cooperation and current situation in the region.

Iranian Petroleum Minister Gholam Reza Aqazadeh conveyed the message during his meeting with His Highness Shaykh Zayid here this evening.

Memo to Arab League Protests U.S. Air Survey

JN2108143591 Baghdad INA in Arabic 1215 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Text] Baghdad, 21 Aug (INA)—Iraq lodged a protest with the Arab League today over Iraqi airspace violations by a U.S. spy plane.

In a memorandum submitted to Ahmad 'Adil, Arab League assistant secretary general for Arab affairs, the Iraqi permanent representative to the Arab League said that at 1140 Baghdad time, on Sunday, 18 August, a U.S. U-2 plane, bearing the markings UN-T-O-1 [as received] entered Iraqi airspace from Saudi airspace and disappeared at 1525 local time.

The Iraqi delegate added that the plane approached several Iraqi cities, villages, and hamlets for purposes of surveying and spying on the pretext of conducting an air survey of Iraqi territory—something that conflicts with the principles and objectives of the UN and Arab League Charters and contravenes the most basic rights of Iraq, which is a sovereign and independent country, and a founding member of both the United Nations and the Arab League.

The Iraqi permanent representative went on to say: While condemning this serious violation of its sovereignty, airspace, and territories, Iraq cannot but condemn the turning of Saudi lands and airspace into a springboard for repeated aggressions against Iraq—something that totally conflicts with the Arab League Charter and all the relevant agreements.

The Iraqi delegate added that the repeated violations of Iraqi airspace by planes flying from Saudi lands and in Saudi airspace without any reasonable justification, the insistence on this, and the Saudi authorities' failure to heed Iraq's protests over these aggressive acts confirm that if this aggression is currently targeting Iraq, it will target other Arab countries in the future, with the holy lands being used as a springboard for the aggression. This will be the case if the Arab League and its members do not intervene to end this serious state of affairs.

Memos to UN Protest U.S. Aircraft Activity

19-20 Aug Sorties

JN2108151791 Baghdad Republic of Iraq Radio First Program Network in Arabic 1030 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Text] Iraq again protested to the United Nations over U.S. aircraft violations of Iraqi airspace.

In a memorandum to UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar, Iraq's permanent envoy to the United Nations said that on 18-19 August, U.S. aircraft continued their activities inside the Iraqi airspace for surveillance and provocation purposes with 20 sorties: Eight two-aircraft sorties and four one-aircraft sorties.

He also said the U.S. aircraft flew over Irbil, Mosul, Rawanduz, and al-'Amadiyah at a speeds of 600 to 900 km per hour and an at altitudes of 5 to 6 kms.

20-21 Aug Flights

JN2208093991 Baghdad INA in Arabic 0900 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Text] New York, 22 Aug (INA)—Iraq has once again protested the violation of its airspace by U.S. warplanes.

A memorandum from Iraq's permanent representative at the United Nations to the secretary general of the international organization yesterday says that on 20-21 August, the U.S. aircraft made 14 sorties in six two-plane formations and two single-plane sorties. The planes travelled at 700-800 km per hour at altitudes ranging from 3 to 7 km.

The memorandum explains that the planes flew mainly over Mosul, Irbil, Dahuk, Rawanduz, and al-'Amadiyah, engaging in acts of surveillance and provocation.

The memorandum explains that at 1031 [date not specified] an enemy formation made up of two planes flew over an area 25 km south of latitude 36, north of al-Hadr. The planes flew at an altitude of 4 km.

Message Urges Arab League To Pressure Turkey

JN2008185391 Baghdad INA in Arabic 1801 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] Baghdad, 20 Aug (INA)—Iraq has urged the Arab League to rapidly and effectively move to pressure the Turkish Government into withdrawing from Iraqi territory, which it entered on the pretext of chasing "terrorist and separatists," stemming from the need to maintain Arab territorial integrity, the Collective Defense Pact, and economic cooperation among league states.

In a message to Arab League Secretary General Dr. 'Ismat 'Abd-al-Majid, Foreign Minister Ahmad Husayn affirmed that what Turkey has done cannot but be considered as an action against the interests of the peoples of the region in general and Iraq in particular, ignoring the Turkish people's real interests, affiliation with the region, and close historical and religious relationship with peoples of the region.

The foreign minister indicated that this action, in addition to what has been mentioned, is considered a violation of the Iraqi-Turkish border treaty of 1936.

In his message, Ahmad Husayn expressed Iraq's thanks for the stand of the Arab League General Secretariat on Turkey's violation of Iraqi territory and the establishment of a security zone inside a border strip in northern Iraq. This stand was voiced by 'Adnan 'Umaran, Arab League assistant secretary general, who described the Turkish decision as a clear violation of the principles of the international law and the UN Charter, and called for an end to this issue through Turkey's withdrawal from every part of Iraqi territory.

INA has learned that in his message, the foreign minister acquainted the Arab League secretary general with the statements of the Turkish foreign minister and national defense minister which confirm the Turkish forces' incursion into Iraqi territory on the pretext of chasing "terrorists and separatists."

The message was conveyed by Iraq's permanent representative to the Arab League.

Kurdish Party Condemns Recent UN Resolutions

JN2108171891 Baghdad INA in Arabic 1556 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Text] Baghdad, 21 Aug (INA)—The Political Bureau of the Kurdistan Democratic Party [al-hizb al-dimuqrati al-kurdistani] urged the world's peace-loving forces, humanitarian societies, and popular organizations to support the Iraqi people and put pressure on their countries' governments to help lift the unjust blockade imposed on the great Iraqi people.

In a statement issued today, the party's Political Bureau affirmed that colonialist countries, foremost among which is the United States, have managed to control the United Nations and its Security Council and also to use them, through various means, as tools to implement their evil purposes under the guise of so-called international legitimacy and human rights.

The statement condemned the recent unjust Security Council resolutions against Iraq, because they are no less unjust or unfair than the 30-state aggression, and also because they seek to impose a colonialist hegemony and custodianship that have nothing to do with the humanitarian requirements used by the United States and its imperialist and Zionist allies as a pretext to maintain the unjust blockade imposed on Iraq and its proud people.

The statement concluded: While strongly condemning these resolutions, the Kurdistan Democratic Party holds the United States, France, Britain, and the other colonialist countries involved in the injustice fully responsible for the dire consequences that might befall the Iraqi people as a result of the blockade, which is unprecedented in the history of mankind.

Turkish Persecution of Kurds 'Deep-Rooted'

JN2208082291 Baghdad INA in Arabic 0620 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Text] Baghdad, 22 Aug (INA)—AL-'IRAQ newspaper has expressed its certainty that the military operation against the Kurds in eastern Iraq will cast heavy shadows and extremely negative effects on the country's political, economic, and security situation.

In an analysis published today, the paper says that the operation has caused a flare-up and provoked the feelings of some 10 million Kurds who reside in south eastern Turkey.

The paper notes that the persecution of Kurds is deep-rooted in Turkish policies. What is new in the recent operation, however, is that the Ozal regime has engaged large numbers of regular forces reinforced by planes and heavy weapons.

The paper draws attention to the U.S. and Western double standards toward the issues and affairs of the region and their attempts to use the Kurdish question to serve their selfish interests and gain a foothold and power in the region.

The annihilation of Kurds is taking place openly before the international alliance forces stationed in south eastern Turkey to allegedly protect Iraqi Kurds, the paper adds.

The paper links the domestic situation in Turkey to Ozal's contribution to the alliance against Iraq. Observers do not rule out that Ozal would gain U.S. support in advance to enable him to distract attention from his country's domestic problems in return for his continued participation in the aggression against Iraq.

The paper highlights the inhuman and bloody aspects revealed by the Western media which are involved in the military operation to exterminate the Kurds. The paper wonders if these crimes will stand in the way of accepting Turkey into the European Economic Community or "if Turkey will remain one of the paws of the U.S. hand".

Rebel Radio Reports Attacks in Early Aug

NC2108151691 (Clandestine) Voice of Rebellious Iraq in Arabic 1424 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Text] The victorious mujahidin of the popular forces continue their strikes against the pillars of the Ba'thists with God's help. In a successful attack on the forces of the 6th Corps in al-Qurnah, the courageous revolutionaries of our uprising's forces managed to destroy the corps' ammunition stores. The loud explosions were accompanied by the heroic revolutionaries' cries of God is great.

In the same period—the first half of August—another group belonging to the al-Najaf Martyrs Forces of our victorious popular forces attacked the 445th Brigade, killing many mercenaries and destroying equipment. The group returned safely to base after giving the enemies a new lesson in the struggle against the tyrants.

New Cholera Cases Recorded in Last Week

JN2108151491 Baghdad INA in Arabic 1125 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Text] Baghdad, 21 Aug (INA)—In the past six days, health departments in Iraq have recorded 48 new cholera cases.

The director general of the Health Ministry's Preventive Medicine and Environmental Protection Department said there were 22 cases in Diyala, seven in each of Baghdad and Ninawa, five in Dahuk, three in al-Najaf, two in al-Anbar, and one in each of Karbala' and al-Muthanna. One four-year old child died in Baghdad.

Shamir Believes USSR To Stand By Commitments

TA2108154191 Tel Aviv IDF Radio in Hebrew 1525 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Text] Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir addressed a United Jewish Appeal delegation at the King David Hotel in Jerusalem. Our correspondent Natan Gutman reports:

Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir's address is continuing, and we will reiterate what he has already said on the USSR. He said that if the latest news on the USSR is correct and it implies the restoration of order and stability, then we welcome it with all our hearts. He added that we believe the Soviet Government will stand by its international commitments, including its important role in the peace process and the resumption of relations. The prime minister has just concluded his remarks, saying, we believe that the contacts on regional talks will continue, and I hope that we will be able to continue the contacts for peace in the coming days. The prime minister also said that we do not know if the peace contacts will lead to peace, but without them there will be nothing. He ended his speech with a call to all Soviet Jews to leave for Israel now, saying, together we will overcome all hardships.

Awaits 'Positive' Developments

TA2108161291 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew 1537 GMT 21 August 91

[News conference by Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir after addressing a United Jewish Appeal delegation in Jerusalem on 21 August with domestic reporters—recorded]

[Text] [Arye Golan, Qol Yisra'el] We first asked Mr. Shamir if we can now breathe freely as it seems that the Soviet coup has aborted.

[Shamir] I am now awaiting positive and desirable developments, which I expect will come. I hope that they will now be better than we previously expected.

[Golan] Will we be able to immediately absorb Soviet Jewry at a faster pace?

[Shamir] There is no doubt about that. We believe that is what is needed now. Jews should come here as soon as possible, and we are prepared and organized.

[Golan] Is everything returning to the situation as it was before with regard to the peace conference and the process?

[Shamir] It is difficult to say at this moment what will happen in the coming days in the USSR. I hope new obstacles will not crop up.

[Golan] Which obstacles could now appear?

[Shamir] I do not want to speculate. I hope that the USSR will fulfill a positive and helpful role.

[Natan Gutman, IDF Radio] Do you believe the peace conference will convene as scheduled in October?

[Shamir] It is difficult to say anything now. They have much work to do now, but I hope that it will be convened.

[Gutman] Sir, do you have any idea why the revolution failed?

[Shamir] Right now, I do not have any views on that. I believe it is too early to say anything. We will wait a bit and will then be wiser.

Herzog Greets Gorbachev on Return to Presidency

TA2208083991 Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 22 Aug 91 p 1

[Report by Herb Keinon]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] President Hayim Herzog last night sent greetings on his own behalf and that of the people of Israel to Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, welcoming his return to the presidency and hailing the victory of democracy and freedom in the USSR.

Arab Leaders Deny Support for Soviet Coup

TA2208085491 Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 22 Aug 91 p 4

[Report by Muhammad Khalilah]

[Text] In a communique issued yesterday, members of the National Committee of Arab Local Councils denied that they had supported the anti-Gorbachev coup. The committee members said what happened in the Soviet Union was an internal Soviet problem. The communique noted: "We do not want to formulate a position, because Israel's Arabs are not part of what is happening in Russia or in any other country."

The committee said its interest lies in not having these events undermine the peace process in our region. They stressed that they would support anyone who helps promote the peace process.

Arab members of HADASH [Democratic Front for Peace and Equality] were disappointed and baffled when they heard that the revolution had failed. They had been in high spirits during the previous two days, when they thought Gorbachev's opponents had the upper hand and said that "the putschists will restore pride and dignity to communist parties and the Soviet Union."

HA'ARETZ Criticizes Palestinian Position

TA2208113891 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 22 Aug 91 p B1

[Editorial: "Hasty Palestinian Reaction"]

[Text] Once again Palestinian politicians and journalists, as well as some radical Arab state leaders, intoned their old refrain in response to an important world event. Their support of Saddam Husayn not yet forgotten, they hastened

to side with the reactionary junta in Moscow even before the latter had consolidated its rule and clearly defined its goals.

There is no sense in looking for some logic in their position. The argument that the Soviet putschists represented their interests against a Soviet Administration they thought had gotten too close to the U.S. Administration does not hold water. The growing impression is that the Palestinians, who supposedly should be interested in a regime that promotes the peace process, have reverted to the compulsive habit of shooting themselves in the foot. They turned their backs on the Soviet leadership that had been about to further their cause.

Yasir 'Abd-Rabbuh, head of the PLO's Information Department, said he hoped the junta's regime would stop Jewish immigration to Israel. The PLO leadership, which had taken a few steps toward becoming part of the budding political process, was once again exposed as a narrow-minded and obnoxious gang that does not miss any opportunity to alienate the Israeli public. The amendment issued by the PLO spokesman the next day, disclaiming the Palestinians' cries of joy at Gorbachev's ouster, did not dispel the impression their gloating caused. Even to a moderate observer, this was a sorry reminder of their reaction to the Iraqi ruler's rampage.

This opinion is corroborated each time the Palestinian leaders demonstrate their cliched and rash attitude toward world events. It is rather odd that, instead of seeking dynamic change, they should stick to people and symbols that spell stagnation. Many of them cheered a repressive and irrational ruler, who, among other things, inflicted terrible suffering on their brethren in the Gulf countries. Now, once again, they favored forces from the past.

Newspapers in the territories and in East Jerusalem wrote in the same spirit. AL-FAJR sneered at the United States and argued that the downfall of perestroyka is tantamount to the downfall of the new world order—as if this order was not supposed to include progress toward a solution of the Israeli-Arab-Palestinian conflict. Some of these expressions of support were so automatic and hasty that they could not have been based on any real facts. There is no choice but to see these and previous expressions as an automatic reflex.

The Palestinian leaders discussing the preparations for peace negotiations made similar half-baked declarations. Dr. Hannan 'Ashrawi, an astute and perceptive Palestinian spokesman, said that Soviet policy in the Gorbachev era had been "an echo of U.S. policy" and welcomed the change on behalf of the Palestinians. Her ears, apparently, did not hear what her lips were saying. After all, it is thanks to that very U.S. policy that she is now travelling all over the world to discuss a possible international conference as an opening to negotiations, which had been blessed by none other than the Gorbachev administration.

A more sensible attitude, which gives rise to some kind of hope that the Palestinians may extricate themselves from this destructive position, was displayed by Faysal al-Husayni. Unlike his colleagues, he refused to give any grades to the revolutionary junta and made some sensible declarations about the correlation between Soviet stability and international stability and how both can help the Palestinian cause.

It is not up to us to advise the Palestinians. They should not be surprised, however, if their utterances under such circumstances deepen the resentment the Israeli public feels toward them and strengthens the skeptics who doubt their sincere and serious intentions to join the political process with a view to reaching peace arrangements in our region.

Papers Comment on Developments in Soviet Union

'Positive Balance' Seen

TA2208100291 Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 22 Aug 91 p A2

[By Avino'am Bar-Yosef: "Hope for the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations and the Continuation of Aliyah"]

[Text] Jerusalem has no regrets about the caution that characterized Israel's reaction to the attempted coup d'etat in the Soviet Union. An interim balance sheet shows that the threat to aliyah has been removed, the political process has been thawed, and it is hoped that the level of diplomatic relations between Israel and the Soviet Union will very soon be upgraded as planned—all in all, a positive balance.

Had the junta remained in power a few more days, Israel might have reaped some more fruits: The pace of Jewish immigration would have increased; more Arab countries would have voiced their support for the anti-Gorbachev putschists, which, in turn, would have heightened sympathy for Israel's arguments concerning the peace conference; Israel would have increased its strategic worth in the eyes of the United States; and it would have taken more time for the West to forget the events.

The U.S. Administration will now try to hasten the convention of the regional peace conference. Even if the latest events put the date off until after Gorbachev has regained stability, the process will not go into a deep freeze but will merely suffer a slight delay.

Only last week, it was reported that the Soviet Union favors the inclusion of the PLO in the peace process. Jerusalem now believes that Gorbachev's post-coup attitude toward the PLO will resemble the stance taken by Kuwait's Shaykh al-Sabah in the wake of the Gulf war. Jerusalem hopes the Russian memory is longer than that of the Americans.

Staffers in the Prime Minister's Office may now have the pleasure of openly saying that "the Palestinians who danced on the rooftops have once again fallen flat on their faces."

Many said the coup in Moscow awakened the West from its dream of "a new world order." The blaring honks of

the black limousines rushing the putschists to Vnukovo Airport woke them with a start. Jerusalem hopes that, now that the West has awakened from a nightmare, it will not indulge in new dreams but will rather learn to see developments in the right proportions.

Editorial Views Aftermath

TA220809/691 Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 22 Aug 91 p 6

[Editorial: "The Whimper"]

[Text] There was almost something comic in the way the anti-Gorbachev coup came to end. A putsch which threatened to plunge the largest country in the world into totalitarian darkness and threatened the stability of the world fizzled out with a whimper, its leaders ignominiously fleeing for safety. Their confusion, indecisiveness and bungling incompetence made a mockery of their pledge to restore order to the empire with an iron hand. More than anything, they have served as living examples of the total bankruptcy of the old order. And as if to complement their conduct, the Soviet apparatchiks—conditioned for generations to be devoid of principle and obsequiously follow the powerful—waited in the wings to see who would win. That they now denounce the "gang of eight" with gusto is the surest indication of Boris Yeltsin's victory.

Clearly, the undisputed hero of the saga is Yeltsin, the only popularly elected president in Russia's history, who displayed redoubtable courage and steely determination. But Yeltsin could not have won this battle alone. Perhaps the most encouraging fact about the aborted coup is that the people of the Soviet Union, despite the suffering and shortages brought on by perestroyka, have grown addicted to liberty. Promises of restored order and bread on the shelves were not enough to seduce them away from their new, hard-won freedoms.

Nor can one underestimate the role of the media in the affair. To a large extent, they repeated their performance in the liberation of Eastern Europe. Instantaneously bringing the counter-counter-revolution to Russian and world living rooms, they made the junta think twice before committing brutalities, and made the people realize they were not isolated. Most surprisingly, the media seemed to make even the old-fashioned Communists who led the coup afraid of their own people and of world opinion. If that is so, this transient nightmare can be viewed as the true beginning of democracy in the USSR.

Mikhail Gorbachev deserves sympathy, of course. It was, after all, his own crew which betrayed him. But his six-year-long vacillation and his inability to unshackle himself from Communist doctrine are at least partly to blame for the economic chaos in the Soviet Union. Had he followed Yeltsin's advice, broken with the past and introduced revolutionary economic reforms, the conspirators would not have relied on public dissatisfaction to bring them support. Perhaps now he will have the courage to shun the Communist party, and—like his former close colleagues Eduard Shevardnadze and Aleksandr Yakovlev—join the democratic movement. Clearly, it is time for free elections to the office of president of the Soviet Union.

The West, shocked by what could have been, will most likely want more than ever to help convert the resources-rich country into a flourishing free market. It envisions a new USSR, an confederation of democratic states, blessed with unlimited economic potential and ruled by an elected president. Perhaps the West will at last realize that democracy is indivisible, and that to achieve this vision the democracies must support democratic elements wherever they are. They have withheld such support from democratic movement throughout the Soviet Union, particularly in the Baltics, for far too long.

The intrinsic problems of the USSR will not disappear as rapidly as the putschists, and they may be as resistant to solutions as ever. The impact of 70 years of corruptive Communist rule cannot be reversed overnight; nor can the age-old nationalist and ethnic antagonisms be easily ameliorated. This week's tremor will undoubtedly not be the last. Nor can one count on the next ones to be as benign. That is the lesson one hopes the Jews of the USSR have now thoroughly learned.

21 Aug Editorials, Commentaries

TA210815/191

[Editorial Report] All Israeli daily newspapers on 21 August carry commentaries and editorials on the implications the Soviet coup has for Soviets immigrating to Israel and for the Middle East peace process. Most commentators believe these issues will be affected by events in the USSR and offer analyses of the meaning of a delay in the peace process as well as reactions in Israel and in the Arab world to such a delay.

In a page 6 commentary in Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English entitled "No Threat to Aliyah and Peace," Moshe Zaq contends that neither issue is endangered by Gorbachev's ouster. With regard to aliyah, the new leadership will want to prove to the world it is keeping Soviet commitments, while with regard to the peace conference, this leadership not only knows that the Americans have an alternative plan for a conference without their participation, but that "the conference under Soviet-U.S. sponsorship will reflect American recognition of the changeover in Moscow." The new leadership also "may expedite the resumption of full diplomatic relations with Jerusalem," because they believe in Israel's influence and "because they value its impact on American resources and public opinion."

In Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew, in a page-B1 commentary entitled "Good or Bad for Which Jews?," Gid'on Samet says the coup in the USSR may delay Jews' exit and disrupt the timetable of the regional conference. While a halt to immigration may be negative, "it is reasonable to assume that the prime minister will be happy to use the Soviet upheaval as an excuse for

putting off the regional conference." The Likud tacticians could also contend that "U.S. determination for sponsorship by the two superpowers should wait until we have a clearer idea with which superpower we are dealing." Furthermore, the Soviet crisis should help bridge current Israeli-U.S. disagreements, as "what seems to be a deep rift turns into a consultation by friends facing the same crisis." Still, Samet argues, due to the potential delay posed by external events, the parties to the regional conflict should reach an understanding. "Too much time will pass, with too many victims and missed opportunities," if we wait until the world returns to its normal routine.

In an article entitled "Jerusalem Does not Know whether To Smile or to Cry" on page A6 of Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew, Avino'am Bar-Yosef says that the right-wing leadership lost sleep over the regional conference for fear that the PLO would enter the process and Israel would have to pay with territories in return for peace. The Moscow coup has postponed the threat: "The political process has been put into deep freeze, and nobody is rushing to predict when the peace conference will convene." History also indicates that "the U.S. Administration finds time to handle Middle East problems only when other trouble spots are quiet."

Writing in Tel Aviv 'AL HAMISHMAR in Hebrew in a commentary on page 9 entitled "Deus Ex Machina's Time Out," Yehuda Litani expresses his belief that all sides to the Middle East conflict are sighing with relief, as the Soviet coup, this deus ex machina, allowed all "time out from the imposed peace," which seemed artificial and inapplicable to them. Noting the joyful Arab reactions to the coup, the right-wing government, which will no longer face the danger of dissolution over the peace process, will be able to say: "Did we not say that the Arabs do not want peace?" The left-wing circles in Israel will also be able to point out the right wing's opposition to peace, although the political problem will become acute again if and when all Middle East sides realize that the USSR is pursuing the perestroyka line and that the peace conference is again on the agenda. As for the aliyah issue, Litani says he believes it will be defined as a governmental blunder whether it continues or stops: "If it continues, we will be unable to absorb the expected large waves of immigrants; if it stops, there will be a large number of empty, unused caravans prepared for all those immigrants we failed to bring to Israel."

Tel Aviv HATZOFE in Hebrew carries a leading editorial on page 2 entitled "The Iraqi-PLO Reaction," which argues that the PLO and Iraq hope they will be able to return to their sponsors in Moscow and stop the peace process. Even if their joy has no impact on the final situation in the USSR, this still exposes their true face and proves that they are not heading for peace, nor have they changed in their denial of the Jewish state. Therefore, "we should take note of this and decide on our position regarding the peace process accordingly."

In a second editorial on the same page, entitled "The Husayn-al-Asad Meeting," HATZOFE argues "it is no secret that al-Asad is not enthusiastic about the U.S. initiative for the convening of a regional peace conference," nor do the Syrians conceal their hostility toward Israel. HATZOFE expresses its belief that neither Jordan nor Syria are sorry about the Soviet coup, "hoping that the new Moscow leaders will return to the previous Soviet policy which extends unreserved support to the Arab countries."

In an editorial on page 9, entitled "Delay and Not for the Better," Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew says it is reasonable to believe that the October peace conference will be postponed, although this will not necessarily materialize, because Yanayev and his colleagues might want to prove that they honor international commitments and agreements. The editorial criticizes Libya, the PLO, Iraq, and residents of the territories, saying that "there is no political wisdom" in rejoicing over Gorbachev's ouster and the apparent death of the peace conference. It adds that the current delay may not prove to be beneficial for them.

In an page 2 editorial entitled "Initial Lessons," Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT says that the important lesson for Israel is that the Soviet Jews' aliyah was and is still prompted by the need to escape, and we should have been better prepared to absorb these Jews before the current crisis erupted. Another lesson concerns the Palestinians: "The Saddam-al-Qadhdhafi-'Arafat axis has not let us down now either. The PLO and the residents of the territories, at least some of them, are betting on the wrong horse again."

Soviet Religious Affairs Minister Plans Visit

TA2208044391 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew 0400 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Text] The Soviet minister of religious affairs [title as heard] will visit Israel in November. Our political correspondent Arye Golan reports that a cable to this effect was sent last night from Moscow to Minister of Religious Affairs Avner Sciaki.

Palestinian Delegation Invited to USSR 1 Sep

TA2208050491 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in English 0400 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Text] A delegation of seven Palestinians from the territories has been invited to visit the Soviet Union on the 1st of next month. According to Palestinian sources, the invitation was sent by the Soviet leadership before this week's coup and was delivered personally yesterday to Faysal al-Husayni and Dr. Hannan 'Ashrawi.

Palestinian Figures on London Meetings, USSR

TA2108112291 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 21 Aug 91 p A10

[Report by the territories correspondent]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Upon returning from London yesterday, Faysal al-Husayni and Hannan 'Ashrawi would not confirm that they had conferred in London with PLO officials—such as Nasir al-Qidwah and 'Afif Safiyah, its representatives in the United Nations and in London respectively—probably for fear of incriminating themselves.

Dr. 'Ashrawi agreed to tell HA'ARETZ that she and her colleagues had met Dr. Musa Mazawwi, an international law expert, and professors Edward Said and Ibrahim Abu-Lughod, experts in U.S. politics.

Al-Husayni said the meetings with the Palestinian advisers had been positive, and he added that additional meetings would be held in the future. "We will have to meet them again in any event. When the Americans give us the draft of the memorandum of assurances, we will have to discuss it with them," he noted.

Referring to the peace conference scheduled to convene in October, al-Husayni said that, despite the changes in the Soviet Union, he hopes the situation will stabilize and the new regime will agree to attend a peace conference.

Avoiding the anti-Gorbachev statements made by many Palestinian leaders, al-Husayni firmly refused to take a clear position on the matter and just said: "This is an internal issue. It does not matter who is in power. We hope the Soviet people get the leader they want. Stability in the Soviet Union will contribute to world stability, and world stability will help the Palestinians."

In contrast, 'Ashrawi said: "Soviet policy in Gorbachev's time was an echo of U.S. policy. The Palestinians welcome the change because they want an independent Soviet policy."

Both voiced optimism about the future and predicted that the changes in the Soviet Union would not halt the peace process. 'Ashrawi said the momentum for the conference was now at its height and could not be arrested, but perhaps the date of the conference could be postponed.

'Ashrawi nevertheless pointed out that Prime Minister Shamir may now try to use all sorts of excuses and say that the changes in the Soviet Union are an obstacle to peace.

Shamir Aide Says Arabs Unprepared for Peace

TA2208102491 Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 22 Aug 91 p 3

[Report by Michal Yudelman]

[Text] Arab statements of support for the abortive coup in the Soviet Union have exposed the anti-democratic positions prevalent in the Arab world, demonstrating that the Arabs and Palestinians may not yet be ready for the peace process, Prime Minister Shamir's Chief Yosi Ahime'ir said yesterday.

Sources in the Prime Minister's Office blasted commentators who speculated that Shamir had actually been pleased with the coup, since it might postpone the regional conference. The sources emphasized that Israel is not seeking to delay the process and welcomes it, as long as its conditions—which have been endorsed by Secretary of State James Baker—are fulfilled.

Ahime'ir told THE JERUSALEM POST there is no connection between the peace process and the dramatic developments in the Soviet Union.

While Israel was not surprised by the reaction of Arabs and Palestinians to the abortive coup, he said, their statements have made it clear to the Americans and the Western world "exactly with whom Israel must deal and the difficulties it faces. The Palestinians, who danced on the rooftops and roared with joy when Iraqi Scuds fell on Israel, have once again revealed their true colors.

"We've been trying to explain to the Americans that there are two different frameworks vis-a-vis the peace process in the region. Now it should be evident to the U.S. that a considerable part of the Arab world does not view the peace process as we do and is not ripe for it."

Ahime'ir noted that much of the Arab world is governed by dictators who may be overthrown by others not committed to the peace process.

No New Information Received on Arad, MIA's

TA2208071491 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew 0700 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Text] Dani Nave, the defense minister's adviser, has issued a reaction to the announcement by an official source in Beirut last night that Israeli navigator Ron Arad is still alive. Nave said that Israel has not yet received any new information and is still waiting for signs of life or unequivocal proof of the fate of Ron Arad as well as all the other POW's and MIA's. The announcement issued in Beirut did not mention any details about the fate of the other six Israeli MIA's.

It has been reported that the Lebanese foreign minister is due to visit Iran at the end of the month, and his visit may facilitate a solution for the entire hostage affair.

Moda'i Says Loans To Fund Jobs, Infrastructure

TA2208084191 Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 22 Aug 91 p 12

[Report by Alisa Odenhiemer and Allison Kaplan]

[Text] The $10 billion in loan guarantees that Israel is seeking from the United States would be used, for the most part, for creating jobs and infrastructure, Finance Minister Yitzhaq Moda'i pledged this week.

Until now, it was thought that the guarantees would be used mostly for housing. It is possible that Moda'i's remark may be an attempt by Jerusalem to deal with

concerns expressed by pro-Israel politicians and American Jewish activists, that the guarantees, if used for housing, could cause a backlash in the United States, where tens of thousands of people are homeless.

The effort to deemphasize housing may also be due to U.S. concerns that Israel refrain from using U.S. funds for building in the territories.

Moda'i made the statement in a discussion with Senator J. Bennet Johnston of Louisiana, who was visiting here earlier this week. Johnston is one of the senior members of the Senate subcommittee on foreign aid.

The Finance Minister stressed that the loan guarantees would make it possible to create tens of thousands of new jobs, which would boost per capita output and improve the country's ability to return the loans.

He added that Israel has always paid back its debts, on time, and has never asked for loan forgiveness.

[A report by the Jerusalem economic correspondent on page 2 of Tel Aviv HATZOFE in Hebrew on 22 August adds: "The United States has asked Israel to embrace a long-term macroeconomic plan that would ensure stability, growth, a drop in inflation, and a reduction in the budget deficit before it approves the $10-billion loan guarantees.

["It has been learned that the U.S. Administration has asked Israel to explain how the economy will perform with a large budgetary deficit and how will Israel ensure the economic stability and growth necessary to raise foreign capital abroad for immigrant absorption in view of the revived inflationary whirlwind, the increasing deficit in the balance of payments, and the need to allocate funds to create jobs which would jeopardize monetary policies and interest rates.

["Sources in Jerusalem believe that the main difficulty in getting the U.S. guarantees will be of an economic nature in view of the fact that Israel has agreed to take part in the political process by means of a regional opening conference."]

Official Says U.S. Unwilling To Keep Agreements

TA1808072191 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew 0700 GMT 18 Aug 91

[Text] Deputy Minister Ge'ula Kohen has said that the prime minister should retract the yes he gave Baker, because this answer was given in view of agreements which the United States is now not willing to guarantee it will keep, including the agreement on the issue of East Jerusalem. Ms. Kohen told our political correspondent Arye Golan that Baker is trying to gain time while waiting for the regional conference to open, assuming that later Yitzhaq Shamir will find it difficult to extricate himself from the trap.

Arens Approves Reopening of Nabulus University

TA2108162891 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew 1600 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Text] Defense Minister Moshe Arens has approved the renewal of studies in the al-Najah University in Nabulus, the largest campus in the territories. The minister thus accepted the recommendation of Major General Dani Rothschild, coordinator of government activities in the territories. The decision is part of the defense establishment's policy to allow the resumption of normal studies throughout the territories. Our correspondent Moti Amir notes that the al-Najah University was closed by the orders of the defense establishment when the intifadah started.

3 Israeli Arabs Detained for Operating for Fatah

TA2108163991 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew 1600 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Text] The Shin Bet and the Police Northern District have recently exposed an organization of three Israeli Arabs who joined Fatah and agreed to carry out military activity for it. Our police affairs correspondent Moshe Nussbaum reports that the three, two women and one man, were drafted into Fatah when they studied in Italy. The three are: Su'ad al-Na'im, from the village of al-Fureidis near Zikhron Ya'aqov, who was convicted twice in the past on defense charges; Muhammad Husayn 'Awwadi, from Kafr Kannah; and Samih al-Mutawwali, from Ramallah. The three were detained last month, and they have already been charged before the Lod military court.

4 Territories Residents Sentenced for Murder

TA2108092091 Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 21 Aug 91 p 12

[Text] Military courts in the administered territories yesterday sentenced four men to life imprisonment for the murder of other Palestinians.

The Janin military court sentenced Ahmad Agabria, 26, to life imprisonment for a murder in May, and a second accused to life in the murder of a Janin man. Both men defended their actions.

Agabria, convicted of shooting villager Muhammad Abu-Hir to death, is also suspected of attacking eight other people he had accused of cooperating with authorities, using an Uzi submachine gun and a pistol. The army prosecutor had asked that Agabria, from a Janin area refugee camp, be given the death sentence.

Before being sentenced, Agabria told the court, "Spies turned me in. They didn't leaved us a choice. We have no other way but to kill them and that's how we'll continue."

The court also sentenced Ra'id Rahman, 19, of Silat al-Harithiyah, for the December slaying of Muhammad Hur of Janin. He had shot Hur with a Kalashnikov assault rifle. A second suspect is being sought.

In Nabulus, a military court sentenced Tulkarm refugee camp resident Khalid Hagivi to five consecutive life terms plus 200 years for membership in the "Black Panthers."

The military court in Gaza yesterday sentenced Ahmad Bukhri, 38, to life imprisonment plus 20 years for being active in the Abu Jihad [Wazir al-Khalil] faction of Fatah. He had participated in the 1989 slaying of an Arab nurse at Gaza City's al-Shifa' Hospital and in the shooting of a doctor at Khan Yunus's hospital. He was caught before he could carry out his third ordered shooting.

Border Police yesterday captured a Janin resident, 'Ali Shinnawi, 21, suspected of terrorist activities and causing disturbances.

A large crowd attacked the police hostel in Gaza City early yesterday, throwing two molotov cocktails. No injuries or damage were caused.

A woman tourist was injured by flying glass when the rented car she was riding in was hit by stones near Ra's al-'Amud in East Jerusalem yesterday. She was treated at the scene by a Border Police medic.

A molotov cocktail damaged an Israeli car near the Qalandiyah refugee camp north of Jerusalem yesterday morning, but did not cause injuries. The IDF [Israel Defense Forces] imposed a curfew on the camp for several hours afterward.

In Jerusalem's Old City, a Jewish pedestrian was lightly injured at about 6:30 p.m. when he was hit by an empty bottle. He did not need treatment.

An Egged bus traveling near Dung Gate outside the Old City was the target of a molotov cocktail last night, but the bomb landed in the road and caused no injuries or damage.

Media Treatment, Work of U.S. Team Analyzed

TA1608135491 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 16 Aug 91 p B3

[Report by Orit Galili]

[Text] Shortly before last Monday's final meeting of the three U.S. officials—Dan Kurtzer, Aaron Miller, and Edmund Hull—and the four Israeli officials—Yosi Ben-Aharon, Elyaqim Rubinstein, Salay Meridor, and Eytan Bentzur—one of the Americans arrived on his own at the Foreign Ministry. It was in the evening, and the pleasant Jerusalem breeze cooled the stifling heat. The polite and smiling official complained to his hosts about the weekend reports in the Israeli press that the talks between the two sides were in difficulty. That is not true, he said, and tried to extract evaluations from his interlocutors about possible motives for the loaded articles and the people who could be behind them.

An investigation into the host of articles last weekend on the arrival of the three Americans shows that the use by the Prime Minister's Office of the local media could be termed a work of art.

Every possible message Shamir's people wanted the Americans to receive from the onset of the talks on the memorandum of understanding were thrown in their faces. In one afternoon newspaper, a commentator close to the prime minister wrote a detailed article on the memorandum (of misunderstanding). The main point of the article is how the Americans set traps for us and how we will not allow them to avoid their commitments. In another afternoon paper, a color story appeared about the fact that two of the three U.S. officials are Jewish, which operates like a boomerang. For fear of being blamed for favoring Israel, they are selling out Israel's interests.

Kurtzer and Miller are being overpraised (Hull is considered a novice who almost never makes his voice heard in the talks and is more of a listener), a political source said this week. We must remember that they do not have much room for maneuver. There are perhaps different nuances in their positions—each views the solution of the conflict differently—but in general they do not want to harm Israel, and their religion plays a very marginal role. U.S. policy on the Middle East was decided years before the Jews supposedly entered the U.S. State Department. During the 1960's and 1980's Jewish officials were already working for the State Department and the White House, but that did not change U.S. positions toward Israel. So what do we want? That we blame the U.S. officials daily because their positions on Jerusalem are not what we would like them to be?

The accent in that article was mainly on Kurtzer, who is the most senior of the three and was chairman of the U.S. delegation to the talks here. Kurtzer, they say, was very hurt by the reception. He reads Hebrew and could feel the humiliation directly without the need for a translation, which could have blunted the impact. After turning the page on which he received a reminder about which side he is supposed to be on and where his loyalty is meant to belong, there was an interview with Yosi Ben-Aharon, director general of the Prime Minister's Office. The settlements aid peace. I said yes to the process, but I am concerned, which is natural, is it not? Ben-Aharon listed his fears. And if that message was not sharp enough for the Americans, Yosi Ahime'ir, the director of the bureau, said in an interview with REUTER that the elections would be brought forward to the winter. That means that everything remains up in the air, and if Israel does not like something it can still upset the cart.

That pleasant official who visited the Foreign Ministry asked himself: What is happening here? Shamir, after all, gave a clear, unreserved yes to Baker, so why are they relaying such messages to us? With the same breath he also answered himself: The yes is indeed valid, but some people want to show, for domestic reasons, that matters will not move too fast and that somebody will still make life very hard, piling one obstacle on top of another on the way to agreements and peace.

Besides, as this official analyzed the situation to himself, even if there are elections in Israel, the Americans remain the same and are more determined than ever to

reach a political settlement in the region. The Arab countries remain the same, and Shamir too is the same man—after all, he is the only person likely to be named prime minister if elections are held in the winter, so what can he gained from another four months?

What happened to the Americans in Israel this week is termed a holding operation [last two words in English]. Meaning, nothing dramatic is actually taking place with regard to the peace initiative, and the visit by the U.S. delegation on behalf of Secretary Baker was aimed at artificially giving the parties a feeling that no vacuum has been created until the peace conference convenes in October, that the soul of peace is not dying, and that everything is constantly moving on. The Israelis and Americans held four sessions, but they neither concluded anything nor signed any paper. They firmed matters up and exchanged assessments, but that was all.

The Americans emphasized anew that James Baker does not intend to break any of the commitments given to Israel, but they also let their interlocutors understand that the person who will tie the loose ends of the Jordanian-Palestinian representation issue and the person who will finalize the formulation of all guarantees Israel seeks prior to the conference will be none other than Baker himself. The Israelis continued their attempt to sell the Israeli position paper, which Elyaqim Rubinstein had formulated, as a single package.

The U.S. officials did not even want to commit themselves on the wording of the invitation that will be sent to the parties. They promised the Israelis, as they did the others, that Jerusalem will be able to view the text of the invitation before it is formally sent.

The talks, as described by one of the Israeli participants, were extremely relaxed and carried out in a quiet, matter-of-fact atmosphere. Elyaqim Rubinstein is considered by all, the Americans included, as the nicest of the bunch, but there are no close or strong friendships to speak of here. In the past, for instance, Kurtzer struck a true friendship with Dr. Nimrod Novik, Shim'on Peres' political adviser at one time.

The Americans approach the matter in a very technocratic manner. Neither with the Israelis nor with the Palestinians do emotions come to the fore—neither of the historic alliance with Israel nor the romantic notions toward the Palestinians that motivated the bleeding heart school of thought that existed at the State Department a few years ago on the human rights issue. It is even possible that it is a little more difficult for the Americans to deal with Hanan 'Ashrawi and Faysal al-Husayni, as their acquaintance is relatively recent. Kurtzer and Dennis Ross have been dealing with Ben-Aharon and Rubinstein on regional affais for 10 years now. Each one knows the other inside out, for better and worse. Rubinstein, as always, took pains during the talks to make his colleagues laugh. He did not attend the last meeting because he was on vacation and was replaced by Ben-Aharon as the head of the Israeli delegation.

The Israelis' impression was that the Americans came here especially to try to elicit from the Palestinians some response on which to hold to bring them to the negotiating table. This was the main focus of their efforts in Ramallah and Amman.

They were sent to encourage the Palestinians to make a courageous decision that will send them on a long but correct road from their point of view. They tried to persuade them to allow Jordan to have its appropriate weight in the joint delegation and to dissuade them from holding on to all sorts of strong demands that demonstrate independence, as it were, but lead nowhere. Some in the Foreign Ministry explain that in the talks with the Palestinians, the wish not to sabotage understandings that may be achieved with their representatives might have been one of the reasons that Israel did not receive any signed undertaking now.

There was also asymmetry from the point of view of the status of the two sides. The Israeli representatives to the talks are considered higher in rank than the Americans. Unlike the Americans, they had received a mandate from their ministers to sign a memorandum of understanding because everything that was supposed to feature in it had already been concluded by Levi, Shamir, and Arens.

Unlike the Palestinians, Israel already finds itself in the operational stage. The questions that have already arisen in the Foreign Ministry and the Prime Minister's Office concern the opening ceremony, the bilateral and multilateral talks, the identity of the participants, and other relevant issues. The mental readiness for the conference is already there, a little more so in the Foreign Ministry perhaps. One should remember, however, that the Israelis are responsible for Israel's part only, while the Americans have a wider commitment. When they agree with Israel on anything, they must immediately see the implications for all other partners to the talks.

The road we chose, an observer in Jerusalem stated this week, is one of hurdles. Unlike the Sinai problem in 1977, we are facing problems with historic and emotional weight. We need not hold our breath for October; we will experience ups and downs, as well as disappointments. Having this mess of peace is better than having the orderliness of war, responded one of those engaged in the preparations for the conference.

Tunisian Magazine Claims Coup Attempt, Arrests

NC2208104791 Cairo MENA in Arabic 1030 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Text] Tunis, 22 Aug (MENA)—Tomorrow's edition of the Tunisian magazine REALITES gives a short news report that a coup attempt occurred in Jordan and that 150 Jordanian officers from south Jordan were arrested as a result. The magazine does not provide any more information on the report.

Foreign Minister on King's Talks With al-Asad

JN2108141991 Paris Radio Monte Carlo in Arabic 1200 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Randah Habib dispatch from Amman]

[Text] At the talks held between Jordan's King Husayn and Syrian President Hafiz al-Asad, the first since Syria's agreement to participate in the peace conference, the two leaders discussed the details and mechanism of this conference scheduled for October. Jordanian Foreign Minister 'Abdallah al-Nusur, who accompanied King Husayn to Syria, told our radio that King Husayn and al-Asad discussed the date and venue of the conference, in addition to the issue of Jerusalem and the stage at which this issue will be discussed. The two leaders also discussed the positions the two countries will adopt should the negotiations stumble or the peace initiative become slow. They also discussed current developments in the USSR and their possible repercussions on the peace process, especially since Moscow is a co-sponsor of the conference.

King Husayn expressed his complete satisfaction with the results of the talks upon returning to Amman yesterday. He described them as extremely valuable. He also said that the ouster of Gorbachev will not affect the peace process.

Regarding Palestinian representation, the Jordanian minister said that King Husayn and al-Asad agreed that the Palestinian people are the only party that have the right to name their representatives, and that there is no intention to pressure the PLO in this regard.

Finally, al-Nusur stressed that the two sides decided to continue coordination and contacts through the two countries' foreign ministers.

Foreign Minister Interviewed on USSR, Peace

JN2208060891 Amman JORDAN TIMES in English 22-23 Aug 91 pp 1,5

["Full text" of interview with Jordanian Foreign Minister 'Abdallah al-Nusur with the JORDAN TIMES by Nirmin Murad, staff reporter, on "Wednesday morning, before reports said the Soviet coup against President Mikhail Gorbachev had fizzed out"]

[Text][TIMES] What is Jordan's feeling on Soviet changes and would Jordan prefer a status quo?
[Al-Nusur] We have no preferences as far the situation in the Soviet Union. We look at the developments there as a purely internal affair and naturally our reaction stops at that. What we would like to see is the stability and the security of the region and we hope that the Soviet Union will find a solution for what is going on and a very fast one... any extreme development would result in repercussions that we do not want to see in terms of conflict and clash.

[TIMES] Is Jordan worried that this change of government (in the Soviet Union) would affect the peace process and in what way?
[Al-Nusur] We don't think this will affect the peace process. The change in government there does not have its origins in the Middle East. The Middle East was not (a contributing) part of the decision-making on the change of government. So we think the peace conference that has been proposed will continue and I don't think that a change is coming.

[TIMES] Is there concern that perhaps this might just shift the focus away from the Middle East or delay the holding of the conference? Washington also has not recognised the existing Soviet government. How could they co-sponsor a conference under such circumstances?
[Al-Nusur] That is possible. That is very possible. As a matter of fact there were signals from Washington that the American administration is (keen) to see the conference held on schedule. We did not hear from the new administration in the Soviet Union but we heard over the news that there were assurances that there is no change of policy as to the conference on the part of the Soviets. How good the news is, I am not very sure. As I said our sources were non-Soviet, they were from other parts of the world.

[TIMES] Is there any concern that the new Soviet leadership would try to change the parameters (for holding the conference)?
[Al-Nusur] There could be freezing in relations between the two co-sponsors and remember that all the proposals were made (on the understanding) that there will be two sponsors. If one is not interested or is busy or probably playing against (the other)... that of course will affect the situation. From information that we have, however, Moscow appears to be still committed to holding the conference as planned. But that will be left to the coming days to see how.

[TIMES] On the King's visit to Syria, what were the points that Jordan and Syria agreed upon regarding the peace process?
[Al-Nusur] This is not the first contact (between Jordan and Syria) on the peace process. We have always been in contact over the phone and there were direct meetings between the two leaders. At these meetings the two leaders talked about the principles, the possibility of attending, the acceptance (of the peace proposal). But now that Syria has accepted (the American proposals)

and that the Palestinians are on their way to making their own decisions, it is natural that the two leaders had discussed with more detail the peace process itself. That is to say not only the principle but the operation itself: What, how, when, through whom and what kind of pooling the common (Arab) efforts. The most important result is that they have asked the two ministers of foreign affairs to have a hotline between them and to meet as the need necessitates and this will take place.

[TIMES] Does Syria and Jordan agree that their participation in the conference is contingent on Palestinian representation?
[Al-Nusur] Our position is very clear. We will attend within a joint delegation and we will not be attending (the conference) alone. We have also announced very clearly that the Palestinian component of the joint delegation will be named by the Palestinians. It is not for us to propose names, to accept or refuse names. It is up to the Palestinian problem. The Jordanian component will be discussing Jordanian-Israeli bilateral issues and not the Palestinian dimension (of the conflict).

[TIMES] Did you receive Syrian support for the idea of a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation?
[Al-Nusur] The Syrians have made it clear again that they themselves will not interfere in the way the Palestinians are represented. They have nothing against a joint delegation or a separate delegation or any other formula, and they have made their position publicly clear. They also reiterated their position during our meeting in the past two days. So there is no ambiguity.

[TIMES] Chairman 'Arafat is expected here next week. Do you think that a memo of understanding would result after this meeting or is it just a continuation of contacts you have had before?
[Al-Nusur] Mr. 'Arafat will come here with questions and proposals. Whether he will propose a memo of understanding or not, that is up to him. But our announced positions, our understanding of the peace process is (that it has to be) a comprehensive peace plan and not a separate deal. This means that they (the Palestinians), the Jordanians and the Syrians have to agree to the final arrangements. How could this consent take place unless we understand right from the beginning the content and the operation of the peace process? Understanding and cooperation is a necessity. No doubt about that. Now, will that understanding be written, recorded or be transmitted orally? That will be left to the discussions that will start when (Mr. 'Arafat) arrives.

[TIMES] Do we know the nature of the questions the PLO chairman will ask? As we understand it, the letter Jordan received last week from the Palestinian leadership was asking for assurances from Jordan on basic principles regarding the aims of the peace process and the make-up of the joint delegation?
[Al-Nusur] Their problem is with the Israelis. It is the Israelis who have under their control all the occupied territories; they have Jerusalem, they have (usurped) the rights of the Palestinians. So what the Palestinians need is a memo of understanding from the co-sponsors and not from Jordan. Jordan has made it very clear that it will not act on behalf of the Palestinians and it will not interfere in their attitudes towards the proposals. Now if the conference takes place we will discuss Jordanian-Israeli bilateral relations. The Palestinians' problems are with the Israelis. But how would the relation between the Palestinians and Jordanians be after and during the peace operation, that will be left to the meeting that is expected next week and this is very necessary.

[TIMES] In an interview last week, the King spoke of a feeling that the Palestinians were ready to form a delegation to the conference. Did the Jordanians arrive at that feeling from concrete messages from the Palestinian leadership?
[Al-Nusur] It is only a feeling. Until now we have not heard or discussed with the Palestinians anything that has to do with names. So it is only a feeling and I do share that feeling. I think they (Palestinians) are discussing all possibilities including a list of names, but to discuss a list of names does not mean that they will attend. They are evidently preparing for a decision on this.

[TIMES] Are we seeing better coordination among the Arab parties concerned with the Arab-Israeli peace talks?
[Al-Nusur] I expect that after the Palestinians make their own position clear, a meeting of the four or five countries, the fifth being Lebanon, would take place on a certain level. They can start with ministers of foreign ministers and conclude in a summit. There is an agreement really between Syria and Jordan that such consultations, on such levels, are necessary.

[TIMES] Do you believe that a final format will be reached for a joint delegation during Chairman 'Arafat's visit here?
[Al-Nusur] It depends. I do not know what Chairman 'Arafat will carry in his briefcase. It is left to him to propose or to refrain... I suppose there should be substance to his visit. I am sure that he has something to say to announce or to ask. I really have no said information on this.

Media Editorials Comment on Soviet Developments

Choice To Resolve 'Internal' Affair

JN2208072491 Amman AL-DUSTUR in Arabic 22 Aug 91 pp 1, 16

[Editorial: "We Support What the Soviets Decide"]

[Text] Given the accelerating political developments in the Soviet Union and the fuzzy picture of these events, we can only hope that the Soviet peoples will be able to overcome this serious stage and that millions of Soviets will regain their aspired domestic peace and security.

Reports coming out of the Soviet Union, all of which are by Western sources known for their support for Mikhail Gorbachev, clearly indicate the emergence of a growing

popular opposition to the new Soviet leadership and the failure of the new Soviet leaders to maintain a tight grip on power in Moscow. This could trigger new developments, such as a severe conflict over power, if these events do not take a clear and decisive turn in the interest of a certain party in the Soviet Union.

Such an ominous development; that is, a bloody conflict over power, is the last thing that anyone here would wish to happen to a large, friendly country. We have always regarded this country as having a positive, special contribution to make toward safeguarding world peace and security, particularly in the Middle East, which knows better than anybody else the meaning of tensions, wars, and conflicts.

We continue to adhere to our proclaimed position toward all Soviet developments. We view these developments as an internal Soviet affair that concerns the Soviet Union alone, its regime and its people, who undoubtedly know how to decide their future alone and how to choose their leaders away from the desires and meddling of other countries, no matter how strong and influential the interference of these countries in internal Soviet affairs.

Moral: Democracy Only Way

JN2208064591 Amman JORDAN TIMES in English 22-23 Aug 91 p 4

[Editorial: "Lessons From Putsch"]

[Text] The taste of democracy and freedom must be credited first and foremost for the failure of Monday's putsch in Moscow which purported to reverse the course in the Soviet Union ushered in by Mikhail Gorbachev. In retrospect the Soviet coup leaders were troubled by the apparent disintegration of their "super power" and the inability of the reformist era to deliver on the promises to bring prosperity and full democracy to the the Soviet people. They had acted in desperation thinking that the only way to arrest the rapid decline in the stature and strength of their homeland was to revert to the old and traditional ways.

Yet once the genie was out of the bottle there was obviously no effective way to put it back again. Whatever malaise still exists within the USSR, that big and powerful country needed a speedier leap into full democracy rather than reversion to undemocratic ways. The hesitation exercised by Gorbachev in the direction of the enjoyment of full democracy must have contributed to his temporary downfall and even probably eventual eclipse as a viable Soviet Leader. His reinstatement as president by the Soviet Parliament Wednesday provides him with yet another opportunity to deliver on his long-standing pledge to move his country at full speed ahead into a nation where full and complete civil and political rights can be exercised.

The moral of this latest story for those Arabs who saluted Monday's coup and saw in it an opportunity to neutralise Washington's monopoly on international power is that democracy is still the only continuing way of life for mankind and that there is no effective and lasting way to reverse its march forward. Secondly, no matter how deep the Arab World's grievances are with the Western countries, notably the U.S. (and they are plenty and genuine), the real answer to such legitimate concerns does not lie in entertaining false hopes in other countries, be they large or small, but rather rests with them alone and the introduction of democracy to their own ranks as fast as possible. The Arab countries can never be as strong as they can be and relevant to international events unless they are also democratic and free. Gone are the days when the Arab woes and difficulties can be addressed by others, whoever these others may be. This is perhaps the principal message of and the most important lesson from the last few days' dramatic development in the Soviet Union.

The past three days have been a short period of time in this world's long history. But in them there are many lessons to be learned. The Arab World in particular will do well not only to digest the historic experience but also to draw the right conclusions from it. There should be some soul searching for us Arabs to do in the coming weeks and months, and we should do it promptly and thoroughly.

'Arab Concern' for Events

JN2208122091 Amman THE STAR in English 22-28 Aug 91 p 8

[Editorial: "The Coup That Failed"]

[Text] The world was shaken for three long days as turmoil swept a superpower, bringing it close to the brink of chaos and civil war. While it is early to pronounce the demise of the coup, which was engineered by Communist Party hardliners against Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, it was clear by Wednesday evening that the State Emergency Committee presiding over the country had lost the initiative.

Arab concern for the tumultuous events in the Soviet Union are based on their concern and respect for a country that has been viewed for decades as a friend of the Arabs, and a firm supporter of their causes. The last few years have witnessed tremendous political, economic and social changes ushered by the policies of president Gorbachev under the large headline of "Perestroyka".

There is no doubt that Gorbachev's policies ended many years of ironfist rule in countries of Eastern Europe and even brought positive change in parts of Africa, Asia and South America. But the outcome of these changes for the Arabs, and for the rest of the world, is the grim fact that the Soviet Union no longer balanced the influence and

authority of the United States, and by stepping back, it had left a vacuum that was soon filled by one global power.

During the past months, we have seen the effects of such power imbalance on world politics and regional problems. The Gulf War was the result of the absolute control by the United States over the United Nations and its apparatus. The Gulf war, which consumed over 200,000 Iraqi lives, could have been avoided.

The Arabs were also frustrated with Soviet policies on Jewish emigration to Israel, which only complicated a decade-old conflict in the occupied territories whose future has not been determined yet.

It is understandable that Gorbachev was already facing mounting internal challenges in the form of a ruined economy in dire need of restructuring, racial and communal strife within and between the Soviet republics, in addition to striving to keep the Soviet Union intact as a great superpower.

But what probably facilitated the coup, which was carried out by figures very close to President Gorbachev, was the fact that the Soviet leader was seen by his comrades as giving too much, to the Americans in particular, for too little.

Party hardliners were critical of U.S. and European response to Gorbachev's appeals for economic assistance. They were enraged at the compromises given by Gorbachev on the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START) which they saw as unfair to the Soviet Union.

What is probably needed now is for Gorbachev and the Supreme Soviet to re-assess the results and outcomes of the policies of the last six years in terms of the state of Soviet economy, the federation and the country's future. It is also vital that the crisis within this giant country be kept away from outside influences.

While we look to a peaceful solution to the present problems of the Soviet Union, based on constitutional legality, we are hopeful that this important country will assume its historic role in defending world security, defusing regional problems and contributing to peace. It is our hope that the Soviet Union will continue to be an active player in the Middle East peace process and will further the objective of a just and durable peace in this region.

Changes, Effects on Peace Efforts

JN2208080591 Amman SAWT AL-SHA'B in Arabic 22 Aug 91 pp 1, 16

[Editorial: "Unity of Arab Position Is the Only Guarantee"]

[Text] President Bush has said the U.S. Administration may pursue the peaceful settlement efforts in the region alone if Soviet participation becomes impossible. He added he was not sure whether the peace conference would be held. These are negative frustrating signs that raise doubts and generate disappointment over the likelihood of convening a peace conference that is based on the international legitimacy resolutions.

Once there is a real and sincere will to establish peace in the region, no changes whether in the Soviet Union or anywhere else should adversely affect or weaken this will. Establishing a just peace in the region is a principled cause that should not be neglected or abandoned unless there are intentions to impose an unjust settlement that is not based on the international legitimacy resolutions. Yesterday's call by U.S. Secretary of State James Baker to expedite and intensify the Soviet Jewish emigration to Israel raises a big question that consolidates these doubts.

The Palestinians and Arabs have displayed positive stands toward the changes in the Soviet Union in the hope that the international equilibrium would be restored and that an end would be put to the overwhelming U.S. hegemony in the international arena, especially since the successive U.S. Administrations have shown open and flagrant bias toward Israel.

The Arabs should depend on themselves and on their political, economic, and military capabilities in dealing with their fateful pan-Arab causes. This necessitates activating the joint Arab action and reviving the spirit of solidarity and cooperation among brothers, especially among the Arab frontline states which are directly concerned with the peaceful settlement.

It is true that the international situation is important and the international balance is essential, but it is also true that mobilizing Arab capabilities and participating in the peace conference with unified Arab positions should be the main concern of all. By calling for coordination and cooperation and embarking on large-scale efforts to unify and crystallize Arab stances, His Majesty King Husayn proceeded from this true understanding and sound basis of dealing with the peaceful settlement process.

When the Arab frontline countries and the PLO agree to a unified position, they can approve or reject the solutions or proposals presented at the peace conference, which means that they can employ their will in accordance with their interests and the requisites of their duty to restore their rights and territories on the basis of international legitimacy.

Armed Dissidents' Trial Procedures, Confessions

JN2108062691 Amman JORDAN TIMES in English 21 Aug 91 p 3

[By Nirmin Murad, JORDAN TIMES staff reporter]

[Text] Amman—Jordan will not televise confessions of members of Muhammad's Army, the armed dissident group that was arrested on charges of threatening

national security last month, but their trial by the newly-formed State Security Court will be open to the public.

According to government officials, the idea of televising some confessions was considered "but was later dropped because it would have been in contravention of the spirit of democracy."

"These people have been accused, but they have not yet been convicted. Whether they are guilty or not should be determined by the court and not by the public on television," said one of the officials, who requested anonymity.

Members of the group were reported to have given full confessions about their alleged crimes, which reportedly included planting bombs in cars and resulted in severe injuries to at least two people, and plotting to destabilise the country's security.

Some of the accused confessed to receiving training in Afghanistan and Pakistan and others revealed that they were receiving funding from foreign parties, the official said.

However, the main funding came from donations in mosques collected under the guise of support campaigns for Afghans or Palestinians in the occupied territories, the official added.

Others confessed to training other members of the group on how to make explosives and use guns and AK-47 automatic guns.

The officials said that the initial idea for televising the confessions came after several mosque preachers and deputies publicly cast doubt on the validity of the accusations against the group.

"The idea was that these confessions would make the public see that it was not an orchestrated story," one official said.

However, this official added, since a special State Security Court, headed by military judge Lieutenant Colonel Yusuf al-Fa'uri, had been formed for the purpose of prosecuting the accused, and the trials are going to be open to the public," the idea was dropped." [quotation marks as published]

"Television could theoretically air court preceedings instead of preempting the courts by televising individual confessions," another official said.

The number of those arrested in connection with the clandestine group, which sometimes calls itself Holy Warriors in the Name of God, "has reached 72 people," an official source confirmed. Some reports had earlier placed that number at 51 people.

In an interview with REUTER and VISNEWS last week, His Majesty King Husayn said that reports numbering the detainees in the hundreds were "exaggerated." King Husayn described the group as an "alien" group which targetted purely "Jordanian targets."

The new State Security Court is a military court that allows defendants the right of appeal, unlike the military courts which operated under martial law. It will temporarily operate out of the old military court site in Marka District near Amman.

Upon announcing the arrest of the group, the government said that its members were found to be in possession of automatic rifles, hand grenades and explosives. It said the group was plotting to carry out further attacks inside Jordan.

Official Says Israeli Pilot Arad Still Alive

NC2208052891 Paris AFP in English 0001 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Text] Beirut, Aug 21 (AFP)—Israeli aviator Ron Arad, who has been held in Lebanon since 1986, is still alive, a Lebanese official said Wednesday. The official, who spoke anonymously, said "Lebanon has obtained assurances about him thanks to effective contacts based on the good relations it maintains with numerous countries."

He indicated that a planned visit by Faris Buwayz to Iran to discuss the hostage issue would take place during the next several days.

Groups holding Western hostages have said their release was conditional on the liberation of Arab prisoners held by Israel in southern Lebanon, but Israel has said none would be set free until Israel received hard information on the fate of seven of its military personnel missing in Lebanon.

Intelligence sources have said that Arad, who was captured in October 1986 by the pro-Syrian Amal militia, was subsequently turned over to pro-Iranian groups. Informed sources have said the other six missing Israelis were dead.

Effect of Soviet Coup on Peace Process Viewed

PM2208075091 London AL-HAYAH in Arabic 20 Aug 91 p 13

['Abd-al-Wahhab Badrakhan article: "His Downfall...at the Arab Level"]

[Text] How is Mikhail Gorbachev's downfall is viewed at the Arab level? The first thing that comes to mind is the following question: What will happen to the peace conference, and thus the peace process? Even if the new rulers in the Kremlin announce that they will honor all foreign commitments, it will not be enough to convince Washington that the Soviet partner is still qualified for the partnership. As for Israel, it will revise its position on the peace process, and specifically on Soviet participation in it, in view of any negative or positive change toward it on Moscow's part, especially with regard to the Soviet Jews and their emigration.

With regard to the Arabs, it can be said that nothing has changed, and it is most likely that nothing will change. Under the best conditions Gorbachev's presence proved that it would not help to improve the the status of the Arab negotiator vis-a-vis the Israeli negotiator, because the policy that dominates the world is 100-percent American and guaranteed by Soviet support. And also under the best conditions, if Moscow had lifted some of the conditions, the objective would have been to bargain over obtaining additional aid to rescue Gorbachev in his endeavors to salvage the internal situation. And under the best conditions, the military's coup against Gorbachev is unlikely to be an indication of a radical change in Soviet foreign policy—for one simple reason, namely, that the bad internal situation will only become worse and deteriorate. So it cannot be imagined that there will be any backtracking. In particular it cannot be imagined that the Soviet Union will return as a superpower to compete with the other superpower.

Some Arabs are bound to be optimistic about, and even welcome, Gorbachev's downfall. Other Arabs are bound to be pessimistic or even worried. But temporary stances do not make permanent policies. And we should now remember that the Arabs did not exploit the Soviet Union well when it was still a rival to the United States. So they misinterpreted the change brought about by Gorbachev in defining a way to deal with him. If anybody believes that the Gulf crisis and war represented one of the results of the change in the former socialist camp, this in no way alters the fact that both the executioner and the victim were Arabs.

Once again it is feared that some Arabs may hastily draw the wrong conclusions from what is happening. If Gorbachev, Margaret Thatcher, or even George Bush falls, the reality of situation is the same, namely, that the Arabs' crisis remains primarily an Arab crisis—a comprehensive crisis the responsibility for which we cannot confine to the various regimes alone. It is a crisis of disability, a crisis of historic misunderstanding of ourselves and society, a crisis of a distorted understanding of values and principles, a crisis of scorn and contempt for the peoples and their basic and simple aspirations. This is why hiding behind delusions has not helped in the past and will not help in the future. When the Soviet Union was strong it allied itself with rulers who used that alliance as a way of keeping theselves in power. When Gorbachev fell some people's delusion went as far as to believe that his downfall would help Saddam Husayn stay in power or help others to maintain the haphazard policies that they are pursuing.

Such a reading of events leads to no solution as long as the crisis is in our home. True, Gorbachev's Moscow inflicted much harm on the Arabs during its unplanned rush toward change. True, the Palestinian crisis has been the biggest loser from that change, but what is even more true is that the Middle East cards have for some time been ending up in Israeli-U.S. hands. And whatever the U.S. interpretation of the coup in the Kremlin, it will not prompt Washington to amend its stances so as to become more respectful of the Arabs' rights or fairer on the Arab people. On the contrary, it might make U.S. stances more rigid, especially if Gorbachev's downfall leads to a slowing of the momentum of the peace process.

Foreign Minister Gives Position on Soviet Events

JN2108153391 Damascus Syrian Arab Republic Radio Network in Arabic 1515 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Text] Answering a question by SANA concerning Syria's position on the recent events in the USSR and their possible repercussions on the peace process, Foreign Minister Faruq al-Shar' said:

It is known that relations between Syria and the USSR have always been, under all circumstances, relations of friendship and cooperation. Based on this, we cannot see why should we comment on what is taking place in this friendly country in terms of internal events.

The foreign minister added: Regarding the peace process in this region, Syria and the Arabs will continue to work to achieve the success of international efforts to arrive at a just and comprehensive peace based on UN resolutions, especially since this is in the interest of the region's peoples and the world.

Superpowers Urged To Honor Their Commitments

JN2108135991 Damascus Syrian Arab Republic Radio Network in Arabic 1130 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Station commentary]

[Text] Gentlemen: All international forces are unanimous that efforts must continue to advance the peace process in the region, to convene the international peace conference at the proposed time, and to do everything to reach a just and comprehensive solution in the Middle East in order to put an end to the epic conflict that has exhausted the major part of the region's energy for decades and that has endangered world security and peace several times.

The active international forces, particularly the United States, are showing concern at a time when Israel is stepping up its negative statements to undermine peace efforts and paralyze every opportunity to convene a peace conference and reach a solution that can realize justice in the region and safeguard its peoples from the dangers of war and destruction.

It should be remembered that since its establishment in the first half of this century, Israel has been trying to step up the conflict and fan the flames of war so that force and aggression can continue to decide a dispute that has resulted from aggression and expansion and whose events took place within the framework of a Zionist program viewing the whole Arab region and the Middle East as no more than a common land for settlement, confiscation, and domination.

After all the events that took place in the Middle East during the second half of this century and after all the facts that emerged from the conflict and were made clear through hard tests to the region over the past decade, Israel's aggressive program has not changed and its alleged Torah-inspired illusions are still stronger than all facts in accordance with its political calculations. Aggression, war, and settlement are the only language in its political dictionary, and the logic of peace is alien to it and conflicts with its nature and thinking in all cases.

Many circles in international public opinion and numerous international centers have reached this conclusion. However, we wonder if there are some people still saying that, in the end, Israel will realize that it is acting in conflict with the facts of the age, that it is facing one international position, that it will be compelled to reconsider its calculations on all levels, that it will learn that force and geography will not provide security for anybody, that the Arabs have not been and will not be an easy morsel that can be devoured by the Zionist war machine, and that the Arabs' aspirations for a fair life, progress, and freedom cannot be destroyed.

Whether or not Israel is truly convinced of all that could serve peace in this region, the international family, and particularly the effective superpowers, should not avoid honoring their commitments and pledges toward the peace process. It also should not allow Israel's disobedience to confiscate the world's desire for peace and the need of the region's peoples for security. UN resolutions are a sound basis for emphasizing international law and legitimacy in a world that no longer tolerates Israel's flagrant violations of all principles of justice and its attempts to expose the security of the region and the world to grave dangers.

Israel Uses Developments for Own Purposes

JN2208063291 Damascus Syrian Arab Republic Radio Network in Arabic 0330 GMT 22 Aug 91

[From the press review]

[Text] In its editorial today, AL-BA'TH discusses Israel's exposed deception and trickery concerning the peace process. It calls on the world not to be driven behind these deceptions and to discover the true motives for distorting the Arab stance by the abhorrent Zionist media. AL-BA'TH stresses that guarantees for the continuation of Jewish immigration contradict with the peaceful efforts that are being made.

AL-BA'TH adds: Israel is trying to use events and developments for its own purposes—whether for increasing its arms arsenal or intensifying its settlement at the expense of Arab territory. It is seeking to fulfill its objective of rejecting withdrawal and, consequently, rejecting the peace process because peace is the antitheses of the Zionist dream. The Zionist leaders do not wish to reach peace or talk about it under any umbrella or cover.

Afghanistan

Rebel Faction Places Conditions on Tehran Talks

BK2108170691 Hong Kong AFP in English 1647 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Text] Islamabad, Aug 21 (AFP)—A fundamentalist Afghan rebel faction announced conditions Wednesday regarding its attendance at a meeting in Tehran later this month between Pakistan, Iran and the mojahedin.

The Hezb-e Eslami, led by Golbuddin Hekmatyar, said the mojahedin factions should work out a consensus on a plan to resolve the Afghan problem before going to the August 27 meeting.

Spelling out other conditions, the party said all "effective" mojahedin organizations should be invited to the tripartite conference and the major groups should jointly name a delegation leader.

The Hezb-e Eslami, which took part in the first tripartite conference here last month, also demanded the withdrawal of what it called "extraordinary privileges being given to some parties," although it did not elaborate.

The Islamabad conference declared that Afghan President Najibollah had to be ousted to pave the way for the implementation of United Nations proposals for a political settlement.

The May 21 U.N. blueprint proposed an intra-Afghan dialogue to set up a transitional administration in Kabul pending elections.

Government Jets Bomb Mas'ud-Held Northern Region

BK2108154291 Hong Kong AFP in English 1512 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Text] Islamabad, Aug 21 (AFP)—Afghan Government jets rained bombs on two cities Wednesday, continuing a week-long aerial offensive in the northwestern region controlled by rebel commander Ahmad Shah Mas'ud, the resistance said.

The bombardment on Taloqan, Mas'ud's stronghold, and Tajkorghan [as received] caused casualties, according to a report from the mojahedin's supervisory council for the north, headed by Mas'ud.

A message from the commander received here Monday through his brother said at least 100 people were killed and 300 injured in previous "indiscriminate" bombing runs by Soviet-made Sukhoy and MiG aircraft.

The latest report said the total number of casualties was unknown due to "intense" bombing, adding that residential areas were the main targets in the two cities and that most of the casualties were civilians.

The resistance expected bombardment and Scud missile attacks on the city of Panjsher soon, it said.

Mas'ud, 38, took Taloqan, the capital of Takhar Province, in 1988 when Soviet troops began withdrawing from Afghanistan. He apppealed earlier for donations of blood, serum and surgical equipment to cope with the casualties.

The supervisory council for the north said last week it had had direct contact with Soviet frontier guards and agreed not to infiltrate any guerrillas into Muslim-populated Tajikistan.

According to Mas'ud, the continuing bomardment was a bid to slow down the advance of the mojahedin towards provincial capitals in the north and northeast of the country.

The report from the supervisory council also cited "abnormal tension" in Kabul and a "heavy presence of tanks" there two days earlier, suggesting the "likelihood of a coup" by the Khalq faction of the ruling Watan Party.

It said that a section of government troops, called the Rashid Dostum unit, had left northern Konduz to defend Kabul and that soldiers manning posts around the capital had been moved to take up positions inside the city.

The resistance MIDIA [MEDIA INFORMATION DEPARTMENT OF ISLAMIC AFGHANISTAN] news agency said in a separate report that the mojahedin had killed 100 government troops as they captured the district of Khujana Musa [as received] in the northwestern region some days ago.

The mojahedin also seized a huge quantity of ammunition in the district, some 15 kilometers (nine miles) from Meymaneh, the capital of Faryab Province, the Pakistan-based agency said.

Fierce Fighting Reported in Lowgar Province

BK2108155291 Islamabad Radio Pakistan Network in Urdu 1500 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Text] Reports from Afghanistan speak of fierce fighting between the mojahedin and Kabul regime forces in various parts of Lowgar Province. The mojahedin targeted military installations, including the local headquarters of Khad, during an operation around (Chanwali) [words indistinct] was completely destroyed. In the operation, 15 soldiers of the Kabul regime were killed and two tanks were damaged. In a retaliatory step, the military aircraft of the Kabul regime bombed the area of Pol-e 'Alam, killing 20 civilians and 7 mojahedin.

Mojahedin Bombard Kabul Airport With Missiles

BK2208082091 Hong Kong AFP in English 0812 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Text] Kabul, Aug 22 (AFP)—Mojahedin rebel gunners rocketed Kabul airport Thursday morning, sending at

least five missiles into the area around the parking lot and apron, airport sources said here.

The sources said two of the rockets fell after passengers on a New Delhi-bound flight had boarded their plane, adding that the flight took off without problem and there appeared to be no damage.

The rocket bombardment of the Afghan capital by the mojahedin opposed to the Soviet-backed government here has been moderately heavy in the past week, with the Egyptian-made Sakar rockets hitting the city almost daily.

However sources said it was the first time for "a couple of weeks" that the airport had been hit.

At least six missiles smashed into southern parts of the city Wednesday and 13 landed the day before.

Bangladesh

Acting President Ahmed Speaks to Nation 21 Aug

BK2108144891

[Editorial Report] Dhaka Radio Bangladesh Network in Bengali at 1332 GMT on 21 August carries a 12-minute address—live or recorded—to the nation by Acting President Shahabuddin Ahmed.

The acting president begins his speech by noting the last phase of the country's transition to democracy saying that "today we have reached the last phase of the transition to complete democracy." The acting president then refers to the referendum on the system of government to be held on 15 September and traces the past events in the country since general elections and his broadcasts to the nation earlier, especially his last address when he repeated his desire to relinquish his post and return to his former position, following which the political parties decided to change the system of government in the country and the parliament unanimously passed the bill on the 12th amendment to the Constitution during the budget session, thereby paving the way for a return to a parliamentary system of government from the existing presidential system.

The acting president then explains the procedure for voting in the referendum on the constitution bill to be held on 15 September. Continuing his speech, he reminds that it is not the duty of only the government to urge the people to vote in the referendum; the political parties should also play their respective roles in this regard. "It will be the duty of the political parties to bring the voters to the polling booths and to explain to them how to vote." The president then discusses at length the steps to be taken by the government to hold the referendum and to maintain law and order. He declares that "under no circumstances, will the referendum be allowed to be thwarted. Elaborate steps will be taken so that the true verdict of the people is reflected through the referendum." The president then calls upon all officials involved in the conduct of the referendum to fulfill this national responsibility and appeals to political parties, students, and others to extend their cooperation to election officials during the referendum.

Continuing his speech, the president refers to the steps to be taken to maintain law and order and to conduct by-elections at various places scheduled on 11 September.

The acting president also refers to the report of the National Pay Commission and the announcement of pay scales for government employees. The president acknowledges that the pay scale failsto satisfy some sections of the people, but still hopes that judging all aspects and keeping the greater national interest in view, the employees will play their respective roles in national life. The acting president concludes his speech at 1344 GMT by stressing the need to take steps to check price increases.

Civil Servants Begin 48-Hour Strike

BK2108123291 Hong Kong AFP in English 0731 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Text] Dhaka, Aug 21 (AFP)—Bangladesh Government employees started a 48-hour strike Wednesday after rejecting wage increases announced by the authorities that they said fell far short of their demands.

"They have not reported to work and held a rally within the secretariat complex," one official said.

The government secretariat offices were mostly empty, but officials said the union was divided with some members accepting the government's wage offer.

"But the strike is on," the official added.

One union leader denounced the government's 70 percent pay rise offer as "a trick only," adding: "We will continue to press for our demands."

Officials announced the new wages shortly after midnight Tuesday following an agreement between government ministers and union leaders.

"The decision...has been taken after sympathetic and sincere consideration of low-paid employees and the present market prices," the announcement said.

The lowest basic wage under the new pay scale would now be 900 taka (25 U.S. dollars) per month and the highest 10,000 taka (278 dollars) per month, effective retroactively from July 1. Other allowances would be effective from July 1 next year.

Those who would get 900 taka as a basic wage would have a total of 1,605 taka (45 dollars) with allowances instead of the minumum 2,400 takas (67 dollars) demanded by the employees.

Civil servant wage increases were originally approved under former president Hussain Mohammad Ershad.

who was deposed in December. Prime Minister Khaleda Zia witheld the increases saying they would put great financial pressure on the government, which inherited empty coffers from the Ershad administration.

Warning Issued

BK2108161791 Dhaka Radio Bangladesh Network in English 1530 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Text] In a press note tonight, the government expressed the hope that all officers and employees would fully cooperate with the government by being at their respective places of work and perform duties with dedication and discipline following positive and sympathetic decision on their demands. The Establishment Ministry press note said all reasonable demands of the employees have been met by announcing the new pay-scales, refixing office timings, and forming a committee for promotion of employees. The new pay-scales have been fixed after giving due consideration to the income of the low-paid employees, overall economic condition of the country, and economic capacity of the government. It may be mentioned that the government had met more than once with the leaders of the employees on this issue at different levels. Under the new pay-scales, the lowest pay has been increased by 80 percent and other allowances have also been enhanced. The government hoped that all concerned forces would be guided by constructive attitude and would not (?give) indulgence to any kind of anarchy in the greater interest of the people as well as economic and social order in the country's new journey to democracy. Otherwise, it warned, action would be taken under the existing laws and regulations.

India

Reportage on Reaction to Soviet Developments

Lok Sabha Members Hail Coup Defeat

BK2208093291 Delhi All India Radio Network in English 0830 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Text] Members in the Lok Sabha today hailed the defeat of the undemocratic coup in the Soviet Union and greeted the people in their hour of triumph and commitment to democracy under the leadership of President Gorbachev. All sections in the house said these developments once again proved that the people are the determining factor in molding the shape of history. Recalling the traditional ties between India and the Soviet Union, they expressed confidence that these will continue to grow for mutual benefit.

Commentary on Coup Failure

BK2208051291 Delhi All India Radio Network in English 0245 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Commentary by Uma Shankar Fadnis]

[Text] Two principal conclusions emerge from the abortive coup in the Soviet Union. The first is that the Russian people are resolutely and irrevocably opposed to any attempt to go back on glasnost and perestroyka as the guiding principles of governance. The second is that the structure of the Soviet state system, as President Gorbachev had sought to evolve through painful negotiations with the republics, had come to stay. These were the two issues on which the coup leaders thought they would be able to mobilize the masses against Mr. Gorbachev.

The precise motivation of the coup leaders will reveal itself with time and investigation. For the moment, however, it is obvious that a dangerous action by a group of state officials, as President Gorbachev has called the coup leaders, was totally out of tune with the public mood. It is true that the Soviet Union was going through enormous economic difficulties caused by mismanagement by decades of earlier governments. Obviously, the coup leaders might have thought that they would be in a position to lay the blame for this entirely at the doors of Mr. Gorbachev.

Secondly, they appear to have thought that the ethnic conflict in the Soviet Union could be brought under control through the imposition of the Kremlin's will through military means. The grave miscalculation coup leaders made was that with the virtual collapse of the monolithic structure of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union, neither the Army nor the police were amenable to the command structure that had prevailed earlier. This was borne out clearly from the fact that Army units refused to obey orders issued by the usurper government.

The other significant aspect of the development of the last few days is that Mr. Gorbachev and his associates had emerged stronger with the failure of the coup. For instance, Mr. Boris Yeltsin, who had been highly critical of Mr. Gorbachev and had opposed him for what he regarded as the slow pace of glasnost and perestroyka, is now shoulder-to-shoulder with Mr. Gorbachev. Similarly and perhaps more importantly for the territorial integrity of the Soviet Union, the republics which had earlier threatened to secede from the Soviet Union demonstrated their preference to deal with Mr. Gorbachev rather than throw their lot with the coup leaders. It is reasonable to assume, therefore, that the union treaty which was to have been signed between the leaders of the republics and the center will now go through. It is obvious that if the Russian people had not asserted themselves in such a decisive way, the consequences would have been prolonged strike in the Soviet Union, casting its shadow beyond threatening the era of detente. Not surprisingly, therefore, the world leaders have welcomed the return of Mr. Gorbachev.

Commentary on Gorbachev Position

BK2108125091 Delhi All India Radio Network in English 0245 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Commentary by former Foreign Secretary S.K. Singh]

[Text] It is not yet clear whether the world has just witnessed Gorbachev's final exit or his temporary eclipse. After all, Mr. Gennadiy Yanayev is calling himself acting president only and in his press conference he has made a point of underlining that Mikhail Gorbachev is safe and that once he recovers his health, which has been affected by six year's of strenuous work, he will resume his duties as the president.

India-Soviet relations have been during the post-Stalin period all along pretty good, warm, and mutually supportive. This irrespective of who the leader was either in Moscow or in New Delhi. Such are the realities of international economic and political interrelationships that either side for many more years will find the others' friendship and cooperation useful.

President Gorbachev was able to bring the curtain down on the vicious cold war. He was able to wind up the Warsaw Pact. Chancellor Kohl recognizes, indeed so do most people in Germany, that Gorbachev played a role in making it smooth for the two Germanys to reunite. He was able to move the superpowers' dialogue from the INF treaty to the START treaty, thus making a signal contribution in the field of nuclear and conventional disarmament.

The opening up of East European societies was made possible due to his concepts and actions. He wanted to move the Soviet society toward becoming a far more productive one, both in the field of agriculture and industry. But the inertia of old work practices was a great handicap and prevented quick renewal. Also, he was trying to transform the political life in the Soviet Union. Openness, transparency, respect for human rights and the dignity of the common man, all this he was trying to attain at home as action parallel to what he was trying to do in the international arena. The starophiles [militarists] in the Soviet Union were opposed to all this, as they felt this was in pursuit not only of modernization but also Westernization. They felt that the Soviet national self esteem and self respect have been hurt by the way Gorbachev had been treated by the Group-7 summit of the Western leaders of industrialized nations in London earlier this month.

Boris Yeltsin has already called for popular action against Gorbachev's removal in the (?strange) manner. There are popular forces inside the Soviet Union which have found this action unpalatable. We must not ignore the fact that inside Soviet Union the urge and longing to maintain their new-found personal freedoms and democratic rights is a powerful force. There will be trouble if these are withdrawn. I continue to hope that this is not the final exit for this forceful, dramatic, and brilliant career. In case it is, the world will have to watch out for further trouble and ferment, and worst in the Soviet Union. The people who have wrested power in the Soviet Union represent starophiles, conservatives, the military intelligence community, and the KGB. The present economic confusion of the Soviet society is not going to be easy for them to solve or even to contain. It is going to be difficult to undo through sheer police handling all that Gorbachev has already done to restructure the Russian society. The clock cannot be turned back and if it is and violence ensues, it will not be another Slovenia or Croatia.

Let us not forget that the Soviet Union is still the second most potent military power of our world. I should not be surprised if the Western democracies are today regretting the lack of sensitivity and foresight they showed in handling the second superpower of the world and its visionary and great leader who gave the world a wealth of concepts.

Government Expresses 'Shock' at Attack on Envoy

BK2108150491 Delhi All India Radio Network in English 1430 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Text] The government has expressed shock at the attack on India's ambassador to Romania, Mr. Julio Francis Ribeiro, in Bucharest last night. A spokesman of the External Affairs Ministry told newsmen that the attack is yet another instance of extremist violence which deserves to be condemned outrightly.

The minister of external affairs, Mr. Madhavsinh Solanki, and the foreign secretary, Mr. Muchkund Dubey, have sent messages to Mr. Ribeiro expressing shock at the incident. They wished him early recovery.

As already reported, Mr. Riberiro was shot at and seriously wounded in attack by four miscreants while he was walking with his wife in a residential area.

The spokesman said the condition of Mr. Ribeiro, who was admitted to a hospital, is stable.

Gandhi Assassination Investigation To Continue

BK2108152491 Delhi All India Radio Network in English 1430 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Text] The home minister, Mr. S.B. Chavan, has assured the Lok Sabha that the Special Investigation Team [SIT] will relentlessly pursue its probe to unravel the entire conspiracy behind the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi. Making a suo moto statement, he said though one of the main accused Sivarasan had been found dead, the investigation will continue to identify and arrest the remaining accused in the case and eventually charge sheet them in the court. He said the SIT had already arrested 14 persons and conducted searches at 49 places and seized incriminating material, including a diary, containing a list of 26 militants.

Giving details about the operation at Korana Kunte near Bangalore, where Sivarasan and six others were found

dead, the minister said one of the bodies is obviously of the wanted Subha, but her identity requires evidential confirmation.

Rao on Punjab Elections, Kashmir Consultations

BK2108160091 Delhi All India Radio Network in English 1530 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Text] The prime minister has said a decision on holding elections in Punjab will be taken in a few days after consulting the state governor. Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao was talking to newsmen aboard an aircraft while returning to New Delhi from a visit to the flood affected areas of Orissa. He said the Congress-I will participate in the poll.

On Kashmir, the prime minister said the government is determined to end the menace of terrorism. He said consultations with leaders of political parties are continuing in this regard.

Home Minister Comments

BK2208084291 Delhi All India Radio Network in English 0730 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Text] The government will soon discuss the issue of holding elections in Punjab with all political parties. The home minister, Mr. S.B. Chavan, reiterated the government's commitment to holding elections in the state at the earliest. He told the Lok Sabha today that the issue to amend the Representation of People's Act is under consideration. During the question hour, Mr. Chavan said this is to ensure that the secessionist elements do not take advantage of certain loopholes for their narrow ends. When asked whether the election scheduled for next month will be canceled, the home minister said the matter is being considered. Replying to a supplementary, he said the government is committed to implementing the Rajiv-Longowal accord signed during 1985 and said discussions in this regard can be initiated when a popular government comes to power in the state.

Replying to a main question, the minister of state for home, Mr. M.M. Jacob, said the center is willing to initiate discussions with anyone within the constitutional framework to find a solution to the Punjab problem.

9 Militants Among 13 Killed in Punjab 21 Aug

BK2208050691 Delhi All India Radio Network in English 0435 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Text] In Punjab, nine militants were among the 13 persons killed last night. According to an official spokesman, four intruders from across the border were killed in an encounter with the security forces. Four more militants were killed in separate incidents while one militant was killed in an intergang rivalry. Elsewhere in the state, unidentified gunmen shot dead four persons.

Rao on Pakistan's Assurance To Improve Ties

BK2208084091 Delhi All India Radio Network in English 0730 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Text] Pakistan has assured New Delhi to take appropriate steps to improve bilateral ties with India. This was stated by the prime minister, Mr. Narasimha Rao, in an interview to a Dubayy English daily. Commenting on the recent visit of the Pakistan foreign secretary to India, Mr. Narasimha Rao said Islamabad's desire to give a new orientation to the Indo-Pakistan relations would have to be proved on the ground. The prime minister reiterated India's stand on the Kashmir issue that all issues between the two contries will be settled in accordance with the Simla Agreement.

4 Killed, 21 Injured in Kashmir; Arms Recovered

BK2208035491 Delhi All India Radio Network in English 0245 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Text] In the Kashmir Valley, four persons, including a militant, were killed and 21 others, including 13 security force personnel, were injured in separate incidents yesterday. Security forces have recovered a sizable quantity of arms and ammunition and arrested seven subversives in search operations.

Former Uttar Pradesh Minister Arrested

BK2208035691 Delhi All India Radio Network in English 0245 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Text] Former Uttar Pradesh minister and Samajwadi Janata Party leader Mr. D.P. Yadav was arrested by police in Sultanpur District yesterday. He was wanted in connection with the poll violence in Bulandshahr.

Haryana BJP Leader Among 3 Killed 21 Aug

BK2208015091 Delhi All India Radio Network in English 0035 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Text] In Haryana, local BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] leader and two others were shot dead by suspected militants in Panipat last evening. According to an official spokesman, two scooter-borne militants came to the BJP leader Dr. Mahendra Kumar Ranjan's clinic and opened fire, killing him and two others. The police in Panipat and the neighboring districts have been alerted and a manhunt launched for the culprits.

Meanwhile, the state president of the BJP, Mr. Ram Vilas Sharma, has condemned the killing of Dr. Ranjan.

Iran

Soviet Embassy Confirms Collapse of Coup

LD2108174791 Tehran IRNA in English 1643 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Text] Tehran, Aug. 21, IRNA—A Soviet Embassy official here today confirmed that the 8-man "State Emergency Committee" which tried to topple President

Mikhail Gorbachev had collapsed. "President Gorbachev is returning to Moscow tonight," duty officer at the Embassy Levon Abramian told IRNA in a brief interview. Asked about his opinion regarding Gorbachev's return to power, the officer said "I am very happy and satisfied." He said he had no information about the fate of the committee members.

Velayati Accepts Gorbachev Message to Rafsanjani

LD2208102491 Tehran Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran First Program Network in Persian 0930 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Text] The Soviet Ambassador to Tehran, following a request for an immediate reception with Mr. Velayati, met with our country's Foreign Minister, before noon today. In the meeting, the Soviet ambassador submitted a special message from Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev for Mr. Hashemi-Rafsanajni to our country's foreign minister.

During the meeting, the Soviet ambassador reported on the latest developments in the Soviet Union and the return to power of Mr. Gorbachev, the Soviet president, said: The USSR will abide by its commitments with foreign countries. The Soviet ambassador added: The coup d'etat leaders are being pursued and a number of them have been arrested. The Soviet ambassador ascribed the reason for the collapse of the coup d'etat in his country to the people's loyalty to perestroyka, and the military units' loyalty to Soviet law officials.

Mr. Velayati, in turn, thanked Mr. Gorbachev, the Soviet president, for his message and expressed his pleasure at the return of calm to the Soviet Union. He congratulated Mr. Gorbachev for having overcome the problems, and said: The stance adopted by the Islamic Republic of Iran in respect of the Soviet Union, is a firm and constant stance which considers that country's internal matters to be a concern of that country's people.

Expressing his pleasure at the return of law and order to the Soviet Union, Mr. Velayati said: We are happy that the brief length of the recent development served to keep the number of casualties and losses suffered by your country at a low level. The Islamic Republic of Iran attaches special significance to its relations with the Soviet Union, and will continue its policy based on good neighborliness and the expansion of ties.

In the meeting, the Soviet ambassador thanked the Islamic Republic of Iran for its adoption of a wise stance, on behalf of himself and his country's officials.

Daily Says Soviet Coup Belittles Moscow

LD2208083291 Tehran IRNA in English 0746 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Text] Tehran, Aug. 22 IRNA—The removal of Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev from power for 90 hours by several Communist radicals discredited the Soviet leadership in the eyes of its people, the world public opinion and power centers, said 'JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI' daily Thursday.

The Persian daily in its "Weekly Political Analysis" added that the incident had belittled the Soviet Union as a former superpower and democratic state turning it to a "coup land where power levers did not function appropriately."

It believes that the way the reformists would treat the coup leaders will uncover many behind-the-scene issues.

The paper considered as "effective" the political and propaganda pressure exerted by the West for securing Gorbachev's safety and his return to power but added that it was crystal clear that the reformists and the Soviet people played the main role. It added that during the event, the Russian president, Boris Yeltsin, was even more in the focus of attention by the world and by the Soviets and that he had gained more popularity than Gorbachev. As a result, the paper said, Yeltsin may be turned into an "idol" in the Soviet Union and particularly in the West and considered him as likely substitute for Gorbachev.

Gorbachev now owes his life and his throne to the others, the paper said concluding that the West will certainly launch efforts from now on to introduce Yeltsin as the "savior of perestroika" and the "hero" who saved the newly-formed Soviet democracy—efforts which before anything else would be a vivid exercise of influence by the West in the soviet developments.

Tehran Comments on Gorbachev's Return, Future

NC2208095191 Tehran Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran First Program Network in Persian 0350 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Commentary prepared by the Central News Unit's Research Group]

[Text] Latest reports indicate that Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev has returned to Moscow and is regaining control. Rumors are also circulating that some of the coup leaders have been arrested and that the fate of others is unknown.

The dissolution of the state of emergency committee and Gorbachev's return to power has proven that even though the Soviet society is tackling difficult problems under Gorbachev's reform programs, it has changed so much in the last five years that the return to Stalinism and traditional communism is impossible.

Some people still warn that the situation has not yet completely stabilized and that anti-Gorbachev forces may be reactivated. The fact is, however, that traditional communism will no longer be a threatening force in the Soviet Union.

Gorbachev's return will strengthen the reformers inside the Soviet Union. Russian President Boris Yeltsin has

gained great credibility due to his efforts on Gorbachev's behalf. It is important to recall that it was the West's total support that gave Yeltsin the strength to confront the coup. Yeltsin is expected to receive considerable political rewards for his stand and some voices in the West even believe that he should be given precedence over Gorbachev.

Now that Gorbachev is gradually strengthening his rule, the assumption that he will face an immediate threat by extremist reformers is losing ground because any effort by this faction to remove Gorbachev through illegal means will be contradictory to their recent emphases that Gorbachev's rule is legitimate.

Experts on Soviet affairs believe that one of the most important results of the crisis is that it demonstrated that the conservative forces are not an alternative to Gorbachev. The crisis will also lead to the strengthening of the reform process and to the further strengthening of the reformers.

It is interesting to note, however, that these developments will also have one negative outcome: The element which kept the reformers united was the threat of the party's conservative and traditional forces. With the removal of this threat, we may witness the emergence of domestic differences and a diversity of views on the nature and depth of the economic and political reforms.

The West sees Gorbachev's return to power as an extremely positive development because it means that he will not be able to resist the extremist reformers; if he does he will not be in power for long.

Gorbachev largely owes his return to the West and Boris Yeltsin. What makes things more difficult for Gorbachev is that he will no longer be able to easily use the threat of conservative forces to get the West's attention and assistance. The general outcome of the developments strengthens the assumption that Yeltsin is now a strong alternative to Gorbachev and that the West will gradually change its stances toward this direction.

A precise analysis of the situation in the Soviet Union will not be possible until the situation is full stable. We should, however, accept the fact that the Soviet Union will move toward reforms at a faster pace even though new threats may emerge.

Yazdi on Support for Lebanon's 'Struggles'

LD2208033191 Tehran Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran First Program Network in Persian 1430 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Text] 'Abbas Musawi, Hezbollah secretary general, and other members of the revolutionary movement met and conferred with Mr. Yazdi, the head of the Judiciary Branch, this evening.

During the meeting Mr. al-Musawi submitted a report on Lebanon's present situation and regional events. Mr. Yazdi then referred to the especial value of Lebanon to the Islamic Republic of Iran and declared our country's full support for the struggles of the oppressed people of Lebanon against the Zionist enemy. Referring to the American and Zionist regime's plots aimed at the annihilation of the Palestine ideal, Mr. Yazdi praised the justice-seeking struggles of the Lebanese people.

Velayati on Middle East Issues, ICO Session

NC1608191491 Tehran RESALAT in Persian 11 Aug 91 pp 2, 3

["Exclusive" interview with Dr. 'Ali Akbar Velayati, foreign minister of the Islamic Republic of Iran, with unidentified correspondent in Istanbul; date not given]

[Excerpts] [RESALAT] What is your assessment of the 20th session of the ICO foreign ministers' conference in Istanbul?

[Velayati] The Persian Gulf crisis, Middle East developments and the American peace plan added to the significance of this session at this juncture. We hope we can do some basic thinking about the world of Islam. With cooperation from most of the countries, we are seeking to formulate plans we hope will be discussed and assessed at the next ICO summit in Senegal and that we can attain results in the long-term interests of the Arab countries.

[RESALAT] In your address at the ICO foreign ministers' session, you referred to the issue of the new world order and you emphasized that the Islamic countries should not be silent spectators about this new order and should take some action. What is your suggestion on this?

[Velayati] In that part of my speech, which was devoted to the issue of the new world order, the various factors pertaining to the system were discussed and analyzed. These included disarmament, peace, international cooperation, and human rights, of which the Western countries have their own definition according to their own criteria. Therefore, we should have our own definition according to our Islamic criteria.

This new world order should not be such that it suggests planning a world divided in two, that is, a world divided between the impoverished and the affluent, in which the affluent dictate their terms to the impoverished. [passage omitted]

[RESALAT] Considering that the world is moving toward a multipolar system which naturally will generate rivalry, will disarmament be achieved comprehensively or will it merely include some countries?

[Velayati] There are many factors which make a person suspicious when disarmament is mentioned. General disarmament is one of those aspirations we hope will materialize some day. But what is termed disarmament by the Westerners is merely the disarming of other

countries without making any changes in the ability of the arms-exporting countries to produce these weapons. [passage omitted]

[RESALAT] A quadripartite session comprised of the foreign ministers of Turkey, Syria, Saudi Arabia, and the Islamic Republic of Iran was held in Istanbul. Can you please give us some details about the session?

[Velayati] This session was held for cooperation and coordination among four of the influential members of the ICO on the eve of the ICO session, and which had been proposed by the Islamic Republic of Iran some months ago. The topics we discussed at this session included subjects from the ICO session's agenda, and issues pertaining to the world of Islam were debated and discussed and the results were satisfactory.

[RESALAT] It is reported that at this session the present condition of the Iraqi people and the government of that country were also discussed and reviewed.

[Velayati] Any decisions regarding Iraq and the Iraqi people depends on the people of Iraq and we do not consider any foreign intervention in Iraq's internal affairs legitimate. As you can well deduce from the final resolution of the ICO session, Iraq, the Kuwaiti crisis, the difficulties which the people of Iraq are facing following the Persian Gulf crisis and the utter chaos and confusion that one sees in this part of the world of Islam are among the important subjects that merit attention and these were the topics that we debated in these preliminary discussions.

[RESALAT] One of the issues examined in some of the sessions of the political experts of countries participating in the ICO session was the condemnation of Iraq's aggression against its neighbors and the prevention of any such possible aggression by this country in the future. What guarantee did the ICO propose for achieving this?

[Velayati] International popularity, or lack of it, is an important and decisive factor in the resolve of nations to take any serious or fateful decisions, and it can be constructive or destructive. If the policy of one Islamic country is not accepted by the majority of Islamic countries, this is in itself a deterrent. This is because the adoption of a decision by representatives of Islamic countries indicates the general thinking of that country's people. [passage omitted]

[RESALAT] You had a meeting with the Saudi foreign minister and it was announced that soon a seven-member session with six members of the Persian Gulf Cooperation Council and the Islamic Republic of Iran will be held in Qatar. Can you give us some more details?

[Velayati] The first session was held in New York last year and since then, views have been exchanged between the Islamic Republic of Iran and the members of the Persian Gulf Cooperation Council at various levels. The council also sent a proposal to the Islamic Republic of Iran, which has been replied to, but exchanges continue on this. [passage omitted]

[RESALAT] Will there be an exchange of views at this session regarding the political, economic, and military cooperation between the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Persian Gulf Cooperation Council?

[Velayati] The nature of cooperation will be discussed later. At present the format and framework for the cooperation is being propounded. What we have to ensure is that prior to the beginning of any kind of cooperation, there is reciprocal confidence and trust among Iran and the Persian Gulf Cooperation Council countries. For some time now, particularly after the Kuwaiti crisis, the two sides have made great efforts to restore this trust and are confident that considerable success has been achieved.

[RESALAT] As is evident from facts and figures, difficulties have cropped up in the military cooperation of the Six-plus-Two countries—that is, the Persian Gulf Cooperation Council countries and Syria and Egypt—and in a way it has suffered failure. What is your assessment?

[Velayati] Perhaps this is because the philosophy of the formation of this association differs from the forging of cooperation between Iran and the Persian Gulf Cooperation Council countries. According to some of the members of the council with whom we held talks, it was an attempt to revamp the Arab League, and the difficulties stem from the problems generated by the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait. [passage omitted]

[RESALAT] A joint Iran-Saudi economic session is to convene shortly. Could you please give us the details?

[Velayati] Following the Islamic revolution until now, our cooperation and relations with Saudi Arabia were more political and our talks were mostly on the performance of the hajj. But in the past year, they have moved toward the issue of oil, and cooperation between the two countries within the OPEC framework which have been discussed between the officials of the two countries. The two sides are eager to broaden cooperation in various fields.

One of these aspects is the economic sphere, and there is immense hope that in the not too distant future an economic commission of these two countries will be established and similarly cooperation on cultural and Islamic issues will be strengthened between the two countries.

[RESALAT] Will Tehran-Riyadh diplomatic ties be upgraded prior to the expansion of economic cooperation?

[Velayati] We nominated our ambassador to Saudi Arabia during the recent meeting with Sa'ud al-Faysal. He informed us that the acceptance of our ambassador

had been announced. They have nominated an ambassador to our country and are awaiting official confirmation. This is the first time since the Islamic revolution that ambassadors will be exchanged between the two countries.

[RESALAT] Another important issue is the debate on Palestine and the Middle East peace conference with the change in Syria's stance. In your view, what are the factors and reasons responsible for the change in Syria's stance—that it is willing to participate in the conference?

[Velayati] Syrian Foreign Minister Faruq al-Shar' assured us during our meeting with him that Syria's stance has not changed. It is the American stance that now has changed.

In any case, we also have President Hafiz al-Asad's assurance that Syrian foreign policy will be directed within its principled framework, as formulated earlier. Until now, we have not had any reason to doubt the trust between ourselves and Syria. [passage omitted]

[RESALAT] At the 20th ICO foreign ministers' session, some countries attempted to extract assurance for the convocation of the Middle East peace conference. What do you think could be the reason for this?

[Velayati] We had the feeling that some of the Islamic countries are lobbying for support from the ICO for the U.S. Middle East peace plan. But we and some other countries are opposed to it and we expressed our opposition. Therefore, what ultimately was proposed by the political committee does not in any way affirm the Middle East peace plan.

The ICO resolution, however, was not what we wanted. In fact, some parts are completely opposed to our stance. The portion of the resolution concerning Palestine, however, is the same as previous ICO resolutions and was accepted by the PLO and all Islamic countries, except Iran. [passage omitted]

Aid to PLO Depends on 'Arafat Ouster

PM2008152091 London SAWT AL-KUWAYT AL-DUWALI in Arabic 18 Aug 91 pp 1, 6

[Unattributed report: "Return of Aid Depends on 'Arafat's Removal"]

[Excerpts] Tehran, SAWT AL-KUWAYT—Iranian sources revealed to SAWT AL-KUWAYT that Iran rejected Yasir 'Arafat's offer suggesting it assume leadership of the camp opposed to the U.S. initiative in the region. The sources said that Iran's initial agreement to PLO Political Department head Faruq Qaddumi's (Abu-al-Lutf) visit to Iran does not change Iran's steadfast and final position on the leadership of PLO chief Yasir 'Arafat. The sources emphasized that Tehran intends to discuss with Qaddumi for the last time the need for 'Arafat to be ousted from PLO leadership and removed from the political arena, so that it can fulfill its commitments to the fraternal Palestinian people.

The sources stressed that Tehran will not change its position on 'Arafat, emphasizing that the veto against him has been a steadfast and final position since Khomeyni adopted it before his death. [passage omitted]

At the end of April, through Libyan mediation, a prominent Palestinian envoy visited the Iranian capital to discuss the problems facing the PLO as a result of the suspension of Arab aid to it. The envoy heard many things, including this: "Your suffering is caused by a single person. Get rid of him and come back to us and we will open our coffers to you." [passage omitted]

Hashemi-Rafsanjani Addresses Commerce Officials

LD2108060991 Tehran Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran First Program Network in Persian 1430 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] At a gathering of Commerce Ministry directors today, President Hashemi-Rafsanjani said: One of the fundamendal methods of solving domestic distribution problems is to expand the chains of shops. These shops could supply most goods required by the public at suitable and controlled prices.

The president added: While presenting a logical method to expand these shops, the Commerce Ministry is duty-bound to link them to manufacturing units so that the people can purchase their required goods with minimum difficulty.

He said: The distribution situation currently is unfavorable. The market situation is not good. We must come out of this situation. The realization of this aim is one of the major programs of the Commerce Ministry. In that sector you should review possible ways to reform the distribution situation. Price control and affixing price tags on goods should be looked into as one way of reforming the market. Organizers of domestic trade should seriously pursue the solution to this problem and bring about means of implementing it in a proper manner.

He described the increase in nonoil exports as one of the fundamental programs of the Islamic Republic. He added: We need to rescue our country from her dependence on oil. To reach this important goal we have reformed the cumbersome regulations to a great extent; but there is still some inertia. Your major task is accelerate things. [passage omitted]

The president described the organizing of exhibitions abroad as one of the duties of the Commerce Ministry in the overseas sector. He added: Through this method, while expanding exports, we will demonstrate our manufaturing and construction capabilities to the people of the world. [passage omitted]

Finance Minister Returns From Meetings in PRC

LD2108090591 Tehran IRNA in English 0630 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] Tehran, Aug. 20, IRNA—Minister of Economy and Financial Affairs Mohsen Nurbakhsh returned home Tuesday morning from Beijing after participating in the 6th session of the joint Iran-China Economic Commission.

Speaking to reporters upon arrival Nurbakhsh said that in his talks with the Chinese prime minister and ministers of foreign affairs, energy and foreign economic relations, political, economic and trade issues of mutual interest were discussed.

He added that a note of understanding on economic, scientific and technological cooperation and a new trade agreement were signed between Tehran and Beijing at the end of his five-day visit.

According to Nurbakhsh, the talks in Beijing were focused on establishment of a balance in bilateral trade and China agreed to purchase considerable amounts of Iran's non-oil products and equip its refineries in order to refine Iran's crude for its domestic consumption.

Also a delegation from Iran's Chamber of Commerce, Industries and Mines which was simultaneously in China returned home this morning after reaching an agreement with China's Chamber of Commerce to exchange trade information with the aim to raise export of Iran's non-oil products to the optimum level.

The annual trade between the two countries amounts to $285 million which is below the anticipated level. Officials of the chambers of commerce of the two countries agreed to meet twice annually in Tehran and Beijing.

Central Bank Reports on Economic Performance

LD1208135391 Tehran Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran First Program Network in Persian 0930 GMT 12 Aug 91

[Text] The report on the economic performance in 1369 [year beginning 21 March 1990] was endorsed in last night's session of the Central Bank's annual general assembly. We have a report in that connection, to which my collegue, Hoseyni, will draw your attention:

[Hoseyni] Greetings, dear listeners. In the Central Bank's annual economic report, the boosting of production has been termed as the most important axis of the government's economic policy. According to the said report, oil production in 1369 amounted to 3,100,000 barrels per day, 2,200,000 barrels of which were exported at the average rate of $20 per barrel, having enjoyed a value added of of 7.5 percent in comparison with the ("previous) prices. The report puts the index of production growth of the big industrial factories—in the first six months of 1369—at the fixed prices of 25.03 percent, the increase in the salary index at 14.03 percent, and employment growth, at 1.06 percent. A comparison of these figures indicates that the country's employment per capita has enjoyed a 25 percent growth in the past year. In addition, as a result of an increase in the wheat production, there has been a five percent growth in the value added of the country's agricultural sector, in that year. On the basis of the same report, the government revenue in 1369, saw a growth rate of 77.04 percent, reaching 5,632 billion rials. Part of this growth in revenue has been a result of an increase in oil and tax revenues, and half of the growth in government revenue has resulted from the implementation of the government's foreign exchange equilibrium policies.

Also, on the basis of the economic performance report for 1369, the government's expenditure in the past year, has been 10 percent less than its revenues, while the budget deficit rate has been half of last year, far less than the figures predicted. Furthermore, for the first time in the past years, the banks' rates of interest on people's savings exceeded the rate of inflation, as a result of which people's savings in the banking system, increased by 25 percent. At the same time, there has been a 1.5 percent decrease in the amount of bank notes and coins, in circulation.

In the said report, the restrictions on the foreign exchange—in the three categories of government, competitive, and floating rates, and the restrictions in terms of the fluctuations in the foreign exchange and gold rates in the free market, have been mentioned as among the important economic indices of 1369.

Regarding foreign trade, the report reads: During 1369, $1.4 billion worth of nonoil goods were exported, while $21.9 billion of goods were imported. The Central Bank's 1369 economic performance report also describes the country's foreign exchange equilibrium in 1369 as balanced.

The report concludes by putting the rate of inflation in 1369 at nine percent, and the GDP [growth] at over 10 percent. Furthermore, the bank's gold and foreign exchange reserves, the country's monetary backing, have seen a 100 percent increase in 1369 as compared with the previous year.

Bakhtiar Assassination Linked With U.S. 'Plot'

NC1908105091 Tehran ABRAR in Persian 10 Aug 91 p 12

[Commentary by Sajjadi: "World Symphony"]

[Text] After 12 years of political exile in Paris, Shahpur Bakhtiar, the shah's last prime minister, was murdered on the night of 6 August under mysterious circumstances.

Whether Bakhtiar lived or died has not the slightest effect on the Islamic Republic's interests. What does

affect these interests, however, is how certain parties can use this assassination to upset Iranian-French relations for their own benefit.

A review of two earlier but similar events helps shed light on the mystery:

1. In 1983, at a time when Iran and West Germany had improved their relations and Iran was in dire need of access to Europe's military exports at the height of the imposed war, a TWA plane was hijacked. In the wake of Germany's arrest of the Hammadi brothers, the United States began exerting pressure for their extradition to Washington, something the Bonn government refused to do so that it could maintain its relations with Iran and its independent identity. Suddenly and unexpectedly, however, a German television station broadcast an film insulting Iran's sanctities. In view of the long-standing influence of the United States on all aspects of German political, economic, and military life, it was quite clear that this move was made at its direction to cast a dark cloud over the relations between the two countries.

2. When German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher visited Iran the next year to hold talks with our high-ranking officials, Dr. Sami was assassinated in Iran. As a result, when Genscher was questioned about opportunities for investment in Iran upon his return to his country, he underscored the lack of security in ours.

The United States wants its European partners to understand two things:

First, moves by any European country to establish relations with Iran are only acceptable if these moves are in the interests of the United States. Second, establishing relations with Tehran is seen less as a sign of rapprochement with the Islamic Revolution than as an attempt to question everything the United States and its minions have done for the last 12 years. In fact, the United States cannot stand seeing moves to reestablish relations with Iran after having imposed eight years of war and many more of economic pressure and sanctions on it in a bid to make it bow down.

Bakhtiar's assassination must be seen within this framework. Under the new international conditions, and especially in the wake of the Persian Gulf war, Washington is trying to boost its international prestige and wants all international developments to serve its political-economic objectives. Meanwhile, it is preparing for a confrontation with the Islamic Revolution to drive it into isolation and force it to capitulate under economic pressure.

For the United States, destroying the new climate of friendly relations between Iran and France represented the best way it could advance this process and at the same time express its displeasure over the independent policy line France has adopted.

Just two days before Bakhtiar was assassinated, Mr. Patric Devedjian, head of the Iranian-French parliamentarian friendship group, told LE QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS upon returning from Tehran:

"Close relations with Tehran are important for France, as Iran is the region's most important political and economic power. We must seize the present opportunity and act quickly."

Naturally, this situation upset the United States as it tries to build the new world order it wants.

This new world order is really like an international symphony orchestra, with each country assigned to play a certain instrument and Washington as a conductor which will not allow any solo performances.

Bakhtiar's assassination must be seen in this light, as a tool in the hands of the United States for undermining Iranian-French relations. Whether it succeeds or fails in this plot depends on the alertness and wisdom of statesmen in Tehran and Paris.

West's Support for Regime's Terrorism Scored

NC2208102791 (Clandestine) Voice of Iranian Kordestan in Persian 1730 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Commentary entitled: "Hostage-Taking: The Unsolvable Problem of Today's World"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] Last week First Vice President Habibi said that Iran will do everything it can for the release of the Western hostages in Lebanon. Habibi's remarks has made the Bush administration hopeful that the release of the hostages is near. America knows that most of the terrorist groups in Lebanon involved in kidnapping and assassinations are either direct mercenaries of Iran or ideologically and politically agree with the Islamic Republic. Therefore, while carrying out significant activities themselves, both America and other Western countries have turned their hopes to Iran and are ready to grant concessions to the hostage-taking and terrorist-nurturing clerical regime.

Irrespective of the (?correctness) of American stances on the reasons why the grounds for the hostage release were paved and whether we should be optimistic or pessimistic, we would like to repeat that the problem of terrorism will not be solved with the release of the four [as heard] Western hostages. America and its allies cannot, in the save vein, allege that a step will have been taken toward peace, freedom, and world security when the hostages are released. [passage omitted]

While America is content that the mullahs have mediated for the release of the Western hostages, the terrorists supported by the clerical regime assassinated an Iranian political figure [Shahpur Bakhtiar] in a dastardly manner at his home in a country like France, the cradle of civilization and freedom. They murdered someone else who was not even involved in political activities. As long

as the root of terrorism is not found and the elements responsible for the propagation and organization of terrorism are not removed in all parts of the world and in all their forms, hopes that terrorism will end are in vain.

Another noteworthy issue is that America wants to act as though after the release of a few hostages in Lebanon—something which is still not definite yet—more steps can be taken to end insecurity and terrorism in the future. It can clearly be said that if this American allegation is not a big lie, it is at least a demagogic show by the American administration. The truth is that as long as dictatorships like the Islamic Republic continue their sinister rule in the region and consider hostage-taking and terrorism as the most favorable means to gain concessions from European countries; and as long as the European countries, which pay lip service to democracy and their opposition to dictatorships and terrorism, have a flexible and compromising stand vis-a-vis dictatorships and terrorist-nurturing regimes; as long as they resort to transactions with terrorist groups and kidnappers and with the regimes that support them and praise their acts and meet their requests by granting them concessions, we cannot hope that the release of a number of hostages will paint a bright horizon for the elimination of hostage-taking and terrorism. It is only by adopting decisive and principled stances, by fighting hostage-taking and terrorism, and by adopting a policy which does not have inopportune and profit objectives, a policy opposed to regimes that support hostage-takers and terrorists, that a favorable solution which will stop terrorist acts can be found.

Kordestan Radio on Unrest in Large Cities

NC2208100591 (Clandestine) Voice of Iranian Kordestan in Persian 1730 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Text] A Voice of Iranian Kordestan correspondent reports from the party committee in Kordestan's second district that the situation in Esfahan, Tehran, Shiraz, Ahvaz, and several other cities is tense and that the people in these cities have risen against the regime and expressed their rage against the regime by setting fire to bazaars. The regime's mercenaries have cut off these cities' telephone lines in order to prevent this news from getting out. Part of the Tehran bazaar and a theater in Ahvaz were set on fire.

Reports by news agencies indicate that the situation in these cities is extremely tense due to high prices and poverty.

Mullah Khamene'i, who considers himself to be the guardian of the Muslim cause, was unable to hide the dissatisfaction and unrest in Iran's large cities in his recent speech. He mentioned this fact and called on the clerical regime's officials to end to the unfavorable situation of the deprived classes.

Nepal & Bhutan

Ruling Party Appoints New General Secretary

BK2108090291 Hong Kong AFP in English 0711 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Text] Kathmandu, Aug 21 (AFP)—Nepal's ruling Congress Party has appointed a new general secretary, Mahendra Narayan Nidhi, a party source said Wednesday.

The post had been vacant since current Prime Minister Girija Prasad Koirala resigned from it following the May elections that brought him to power.

Nidhi, 70, is from the Dhanusa District southeast of Nepal and won a seat in the May election. He was the water resources minister in the interim government following the April 1990 uprising that ousted the former, non-democratic government.

The source said he was appointed party secretary general by party president Krishna Prasad Bhattarai after his only opponent, Shushil Koirala, withdrew.

Pakistan

Government 'Carefully' Watches USSR Situation

BK2108113891 Islamabad Radio Pakistan Network in English 1100 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Text] A Foreign Office spokesman said in Islamabad today that Pakistani Government considers the recent developments in the Soviet Union as an internal affair of the country. At a briefing today, he said the Government of Pakistan is watching the situation and developments in the Soviet Union carefully and any further [words indistinct] on the subject would be made at the appropriate time, if needed. He however reaffirmed Pakistan's desire to continue its efforts to maintain and further develop the friendly relations with the Soviet Union on the basis of principles of peaceful coexistence.

'Satisfaction' Over Resolution

BK2208025291 Islamabad Radio Pakistan Network in Urdu 0200 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Text] Pakistan expressed satisfaction over the immediate resolution of the dangerous situation existing in the Soviet Union. In Islamabad an official spokesman described the restoration of the situation in Moscow as a victory for legitimate and democratic forces. He appreciated the extreme courage and political maturity demonstrated by the Soviet people and their elected leaders during the critical period. The spokesman reaffirmed Pakistan's determination to further promote the mutually-beneficial cooperation and friendly relations with the Soviet Union.

Sharif Stresses Settlement of Kashmir Issue

BK2108115691 Islamabad Radio Pakistan Network in English 1100 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Text] The prime minister, Mr. Nawaz Sharif, has declared that there can be no peace between Pakistan and India until and unless Kashmir issue is resolved. Addressing a big public meeting at Mirabad in (Baal) District this afternoon, he however made it clear that war does not provide any solution to outstanding issues and expressed the hope that Kashmir problem will be resolved peacefully and through negotiations. He pointed out that the only hurdle in normalization of relations between Pakistan and India was long-outstanding Kashmir issue. When this problem was resolved peacefully, the two countries would be able to live in peace.

Referring to repression and atrocities on the people of occupied Kashmir by the Indian forces, he called upon peace-loving nations to pay their due attention toward the situation in the occupied territory and send their representatives to take stock of it. He also appealed to the United Nations to help implement its resolution on Kashmir in the same way as it did in the case of Kuwait.

Paper Assesses Foreign Secretary's Indian Visit

BK2108131691 Lahore THE NATION in English 21 Aug 91 p 6

[Editorial: "Fence-Mending With India"]

[Text] Pakistan Foreign Secretary, Shaharyar Khan's visit to India, as Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's special envoy, could not possibly have been intended to solve any bilateral problems. These are far too complex and deep-rooted to be addressed, leave alone tackled through a lone visit. So the assumption is that the visit was intended to convey to India, Pakistan's desire to de-escalate tension, generated by the uprising in Kashmir, and thereby prevent an open conflict between the two countries. The visit has, therefore, to be seen more as an attempt at confidence building rather than as a step towards solving problems. The choice of Shaharyar Khan, because of his family's roots in India, could have been deliberate. Had the secretary-general, Mr Akram Zaki, been sent, the reception accorded to him would probably have been less cordial because of his role in getting the Kashmir resolution passed in the OIC [Islamic Conference Organization]. Not that international diplomacy necessarily gets fazed by such things, but a personal touch sometimes helps. The question, however, is why now? Was it necessary to send a personal envoy when India was showing so muchs belligerence on the borders. Apart from the earlier reports of Indian troops moving closer to the border and digging trenches in the Rajasthan sector, there have been more frequent incidents of firing across the Line of Control in Kashmir. Also, the theory that India, when hard pressed by the freedom-fighters in Held Kashmir, could be tempted to attack Pakistan, seemed to have been strengthened by the Indian Army Chief's recent threat of war in the event of what he called, 'further provocations' from Pakistan.

Whether there will be any tangible gain to Pakistan, from this visit, is not yet clear. It is difficult to imagine that India, despite Shaharyar Khan's well-recognised suavity, will find itself persuaded to believe that Pakistan is not helping the freedom-fighters. It is not that such a contention is hard to sell—many international observers conceded that the uprising is purely indigenous—but the problem is that the Indian Government cannot admit failure, without losing face before its own people. If the Indian army with hundreds of thousands of soldiers on the rampage in such a small area, cannot control revolt, the Indians like to theorise, then it has been an outside power, fighting a proxy war. This theory is obviously good for their ego and the morale of their troops. To dislodge the Indians from these self-nurtured delusions, is not easy. And this is what a Pakistani envoy is really up against. But if one can make them see that times have changed and other ways than recourse to arms, can be found to resolve long- standing disputes, that would be a real first step. One would like to hope that the government of Narasimha Rao can break itself free from the dead-weight of the past and start thinking for the sake of peace and regional stability on more constructive lines.